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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

An Analysis of the Hudson's Bay Company Clothing Influences on Carrier and Coast Salish Dress, 1830 - 1850

by

Nicholette L. Prince

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Clothing and Textiles

Department of Clothing and Textiles

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring, 1992

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **Analysis of the Hudson's Bay Company Clothing Influences on Carrier and Coast Salish Dress, 1830 to 1850** submitted by **Nicholette L. Prince** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science** in **Clothing and Textiles.**

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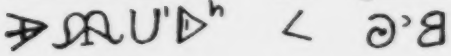
Date: January 21, 1992

This thesis is dedicated to the people of Nak'azdli

Nak'azdli whot'énné

whet'sodul'éh ha yinka



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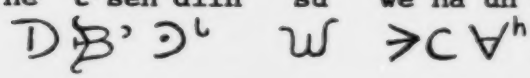

ABSTRACT

Carrier and Coast Salish dress from the time of contact through the fur trade period to 1850 has been examined in this research. Dress is an effective means of tracing changes in culture as it often reflects a society's technology, religion, morals, aesthetics, and social structure. An examination of Hudson's Bay Company account ledgers from New Caledonia and Fort Langley from 1830 to 1850 reveal that during the fur trade, Carrier and Coast Salish had access to large quantities and varieties of European manufactured garments and dress goods. How these items were incorporated into traditional Carrier and Coast Salish dress is revealed through contemporaneous descriptions of their dress habits. Access to European dress goods had different effects on the Carrier and Coast Salish. The Carrier readily adopted European garments and dress goods, probably because they were similar to their traditional dress in fit and style. The Coast Salish did not adopt European dress, probably because it was too different in style from their traditional dress. They made use of European goods such as cloth and blankets to make garments in the style of their precontact society. Examination of one aspect of a culture during a time of change, such as clothing during the fur trade, revealed that individual Native groups reacted differently to similar influences.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1964 Wilson Duff questioned the fate of Indians living in British Columbia. He recognized that Indians, for the most part, had not assimilated into the dominant Euro-Canadian culture. He noted that "what we see in Indian life today is not the old cultures in slightly modified forms, and it is not a carbon copy of the white man's culture" (p.76). By the time of Duff's writing, Native cultures had been affected by the influences of the fur trade, Christian missionaries, government agencies, schooling, and large scale European settlement. Historians such as Fisher (1977), Chance (1973), Bishop (1972), Marr (1979), and Bolt (1988) have attempted to determine exactly what influenced Native cultures at different times and the extent of these influences. Such research, based on primary sources, has helped to understand the complexities of Native groups and their independent culture change.

The first major European impact on British Columbian Native cultures was the fur trade. The fur trade was successful and the Indian's eagerness for European manufactured wares has often been interpreted as a dependence on European culture. As Bibeau (1984) noted, "the material culture of the fur trade is generally accepted as the *sine qua non* agent of culture changes resulting in rapid (if not immediate) dependency of aborigines on European trade goods" (p.84). Bishop (1972), in his study of Ojibwa and Swampy Cree involved in the fur trade supports this belief. Historians such as Ray and Freeman (1978), Morantz (1980), Fisher (1977), and Rich (1960), through examination of fur trade archival material have determined that during

the fur trade period, Indians remained independent of Europeans and were very discerning in their choices of trade goods.

Historians of the Pacific fur trade have acknowledged that clothing and dress goods were important trade items (Hammell, 1986; Ross, 1976). Museums however, have collected artifacts which do not reflect the Indian's use of trade goods, other than in obvious cases such as button blankets (Anderson, 1964). The enormous numbers of wool blankets, capots, shirts, shawls, and other such items purchased by Natives have not survived in museums yet were used by Indians since the early nineteenth century. Natives costumes that were collected and exhibited tended to be that which reflected traditional aboriginal dress. Blackman (1976) points out that despite the fact that anthropological researchers at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were witness to "nearly a century of acculturative change, acculturation was not their academic concern and little evidence of it is acknowledged in their written work" (p.388). How would one depict Native Indians during the time when they had access to European goods but continued to make most of their own garments? What would they look like? Horn (1975), Kaiser (1985), and Pannabecker (1990) have determined that clothing is an effective medium for studying culture change or acculturation. Clothing often reflects a culture's social structure, technology, religion, and economy. By examining changes in clothing, one may find changes in or adjustments to the culture as a whole. Dress style change as a result of the meeting of two cultures does not always result in acculturation. It may result, however, in a stimulation of traditional dress production and elaboration. Each

Native group involved in the fur trade reacted differently to the presence of Europeans and European trade goods. In an attempt to discover how the fur trade affected Carrier and Coast Salish dress, this research examined Carrier and Coast Salish dress from the time of contact to 1850 through the use of primary sources.

Problem Statement and Purpose of Study

The research question posed in this thesis is "what effect did European dress goods imported by the Hudson's Bay Company to Fort St. James and Fort Langley between 1830 and 1850 have on the traditional dress of the Carrier and Coast Salish?" The purpose of this study is to to identify changes in dress among the Carrier and Coast Salish during a time when they had access to European manufactured clothing and dress goods but were generally without the influencing factors of non-Native government and Christianity. This will help determine the effect of the fur trade alone on these two groups.

Objectives

1. to identify European clothing influences on Carrier and Coast Salish dress during the period 1830-1850.
2. to identify temporal variations in Carrier and Coast Salish clothing during the protocontact and early fur trade period up to 1850.
3. to compare the rate and level of adaptation to European dress by Carrier and Coast Salish during the period 1830-1850.

4. to determine whether traditional aboriginal dress style and clothing production of Carrier and Coast Salish affected their adoption of European manufactured clothing and dress goods.
5. to determine the response of Carrier and Coast Salish Indians to European manufactured clothing and dress goods.

Operational Definitions

Unless otherwise stated, these definitions were developed by the author and relate specifically to the context of this thesis.

Dress: The garments and adornment which serve to cover the body.

Dress goods: Items related to clothing and adornment imported for trade with Indians by European and Euro-Canadian fur traders.

Indian: An aboriginal inhabitant of North America. It is used here as a general identifier. Native is also used for this purpose.

Homeguard Indians: Those Natives who become directly involved with a fur trade post, usually by providing it with food and labour as well as furs.

Pacific Slope: The area which now makes up British Columbia and some of northern Washington state which was controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company. It was divided into two districts, New Caledonia in the north and the Columbia in the south (Rich, 1967). Prior to 1858, British

Columbia did not formally exist (Ormsby, 1958). The term "transalpine west" is also used in this context.

Precontact period: In relation to Native history, this is the time prior to the introduction of European or other foreign influences (i.e. diseases) or access to trade goods (Bishop & Ray, 1976). For the Coast Salish and Carrier, this would be up to the 1780's.

Protocontact period: Also called the protohistoric period, this is a time when a Native group has access to European or Euro-Canadian goods or influences but has not had direct personal contact with the European or Euro-Canadian. Goods are obtained through Indian middlemen (Bishop & Ray, 1976). For the Carrier, this period is from c.1785 to 1806. For the Coast Salish, this period is from c. 1780 to 1827.

Fur trade period: This is the time of contact. This period "begins when Indians experience direct contacts with Europeans and when they themselves trap the fur bearers needed to obtain the trade wares" (Bishop & Ray, 1976, p.76).

Maritime fur trade: A time when fur traders are trading on the Pacific coast from their ships. There are no permanent posts or settlements established by these traders.

Inland fur trade: Permanent fur trade posts are established among Native groups with year round occupation by European or Euro-Canadian traders.

The maritime fur trade continues but Native Groups in the interior now have direct access to fur trade posts.

Assumptions

The primary assumption of this thesis is that information obtained from material examined will provide an accurate picture of the nature of Carrier and Coast Salish dress during the period 1830 to 1850. It is also assumed that information available is in sufficient quantity to provide accurate conclusions about dress.

Limitations and Delimitations

Three limitations to this research have been identified. The first limitation is that extant garments dated to before 1850 are extremely rare. Several Coast Salish blankets from the first half of the nineteenth century exist in collections. To the researcher's knowledge, no Carrier clothing from this time period has survived. Most garments date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Due to limitations in time and money, the researcher could not examine these artifacts first hand. The one accessible museum, the Royal British Columbia Museum, was closed to research at the time of study. Photographs and curatorial documentation of artifacts provided by the museums were consulted for information.

The second limitation to this study is that protohistoric dress style will be defined by written descriptions of dress from travellers, explorers, and fur traders who first made contact with the Carrier and Coast Salish. If only the impressive or exotic elements of the Indians'

dress are noted, an incomplete or biased picture may result. Cross-referencing a variety of sources should reduce this problem.

The third limitation is that Hudson's Bay Company archival records are incomplete for both Fort St. James and Fort Langley during the period 1830 to 1850. The most consistent records for Fort Langley are the annual inventories which were sent to Fort Vancouver. These inventories do not provide information such as quantities of goods bought or rejected by the Indians, nor does it reflect the total numbers of goods imported for trade. Inventories were taken each spring. Shipments of supplies would have arrived in Fort St. James in late summer each year so inventories tend to illustrate quantities at a low point. Outfits could be sent to Fort Langley on a regular basis as the Hudson's Bay Company had trading ships on the Pacific Coast so it is difficult to determine whether the spring inventories demonstrate a high or low number of goods. Inventories are useful as they provide types of goods available and numbers indicate the relative abundance of each item. Such data are sufficient for the research objectives of this thesis. For consistency, inventories from Fort St. James will also be used. Fort St. James inventories are included in the New Caledonia inventories; an indication of relative numbers of items between Fort St. James and all of New Caledonia can be seen in Appendix I. It is felt by the researcher that numbers and types of goods available for New Caledonia will be good indicators for Fort St. James.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Carrier Indians

Surprisingly little research has been conducted on Carrier Indians. Many authors still cite Father A.G. Morice (1894, 1899, 1905) as their main source of information on Carrier culture. Archeological excavations of Carrier sites carried out in the 1970's have revealed more about their culture (Wilmeth, 1975; Donahue, 1975). A brief overview of the Carrier is given in order that one may understand their basic cultural traits. Their region of occupation, life cycle, and social systems are summarized. Carrier involvement in the fur trade and their relationship to fur traders at Fort St. James is also examined.

Carrier people live in a large area in the geographical center of British Columbia (see Figure 1). They are divided into Upper and Lower Carrier. This division is loosely based on north and south regions of occupation (Jenness, 1960b; Morice, 1894). This research will focus primarily on the Nak'azdli Carrier living on Stuart Lake near Fort St. James.

At the time of contact, Carrier lifestyle was semi-sedentary; they had permanent villages but families travelled between hunting, fishing, and gathering territories throughout the year (Hudson, 1983; Morice, 1894). Through their extended contact with the Tsimshian and Bella Coola, Carrier adopted some customs of these coastal people, such as social stratification, the Potlatch, and use of clan symbols. This acculturation was generated by the maritime fur trade when coast tribes travelled inland to trade with interior Indians (Bishop 1983, 1987;

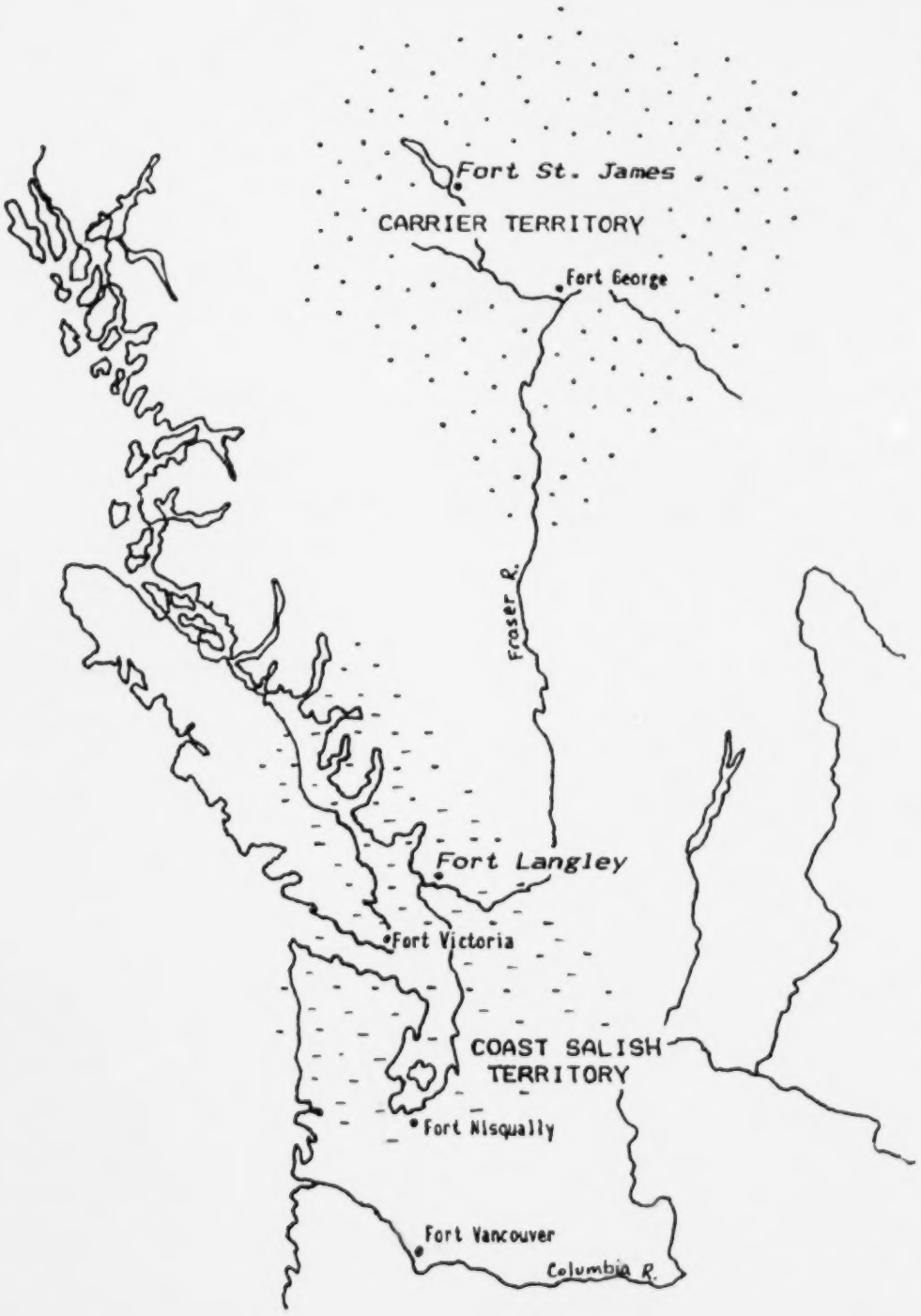

FIGURE 1
Map of the Pacific slope showing selected Hudson's Bay Company posts and Carrier and Coast Salish territories.

Duff, 1951; Goldman, 1963). Excavations carried out at Carrier and Tsimshian sites have dated continual coastal-interior trade to as early as 1000 B.C. (Donahue, 1975). Donahue states that

> It is difficult to assess the amount of trade since much of what might have been involved was perishable (e.g. eulachon oil, skins, fish). During the historic fur trade period coast-interior interaction may have accelerated. There is evidence for interior peoples adopting some aspects of coast culture.... How early these particular aspects were adopted is not known, but what is striking is that so little cultural exchange resulted given the thousands of years of interaction. This suggests satisfactory adaptation and cultural conservatism for both areas.(p.53)

Their conservatism may stem from a relatively limited involvement with the Coast Indians. Carriers traded with coast Indians primarily for eulachon grease; there was limited trade in luxury goods (Bishop, 1983, 1987; Goldman, 1963).

These comments run contrary to Morice (1894) who stated that "the Carrier tribe ... is characterized by a wonderful power of imitation and self adaptation which prompted it, upon the advent of the whites, to discard most of its native customs, indigenous weapons and working implements" (p.5).

Carrier social systems are based on clans and a limited hierarchy that includes noblemen. Carrier at Fort St. James have three clans: the frog (*lisilyu*), the grouse (*gran'tun*), and the beaver (*lht'semesyu*). Each clan has leaders who hold the responsibility of ensuring that all customs of the Potlatch are adhered to and to serve as community leaders. As Carriers are matrilineal, one is born into the clan of one's mother. Besides clan leaders there were *toeneza* (Morice, 1894) or *deneza* (modern spelling) who are the noblemen. The female equivalent is the *kt'sekhaza*. Traditionally, these people owned title to hunting

territories and had great wealth. Today, they are important members of bands but are not recognized as holding political power. Most famous of the *deneza* was Kwah, who lived from about 1755 to 1840. He was leader of the Nak'azdli when the North West Company set up their post at Fort St. James (Morice, 1905).

Carrier live in a region which is rich in small fur-bearing animals. These include marten, mink, beaver, otter, lynx, muskrat, rabbit, fox, coyote, wolves, fisher, and wolverine. All these animals were trapped for their fur and meat. Larger animals included mountain goat, black bear, grizzly bear, and caribou; moose did not enter the Fort St. James area until after the turn of the century (Morice, 1905).

The Nak'azdli became homeguard Indians of Fort St. James, supplying the post with foodstuffs and labour (Morton, 1988b). Little record remains of the first few years of life at Fort St. James; it is not until Daniel Harmon's (1911) extensive writing that one gets a glimpse of life at the fort. He was chief trader at Fort St. James from 1810 to 1818 (Ormsby, 1958).

The Carrier and fur traders had a relatively peaceful relationship at Fort St. James (Morton, 1988b). Throughout the fur trading territories, it was common for the Euro-Canadian men to take "country wives" from Native communities (Brown, 1980; Van Kirk,1980). Among the Carrier at Fort St. James, such alliances did not occur until 1811. Harmon (1911) writes, "Baptiste Bouche, my interpreter, has taken the daughter of one of the Carrier chiefs as a wife. She is the first woman of that tribe ever kept by any of the white people" (p.165).

Fort St. James was a successful trading post, considering it functioned as one until the arrival of settlers to the area in the twentieth century. The involvement of the Carrier in trading furs for European merchandise was maintained throughout the nineteenth century.

Harmon's recording of life in New Caledonia and Morice's later reconstruction of the history of New Caledonia fur trade provide limited insight into the Indian-European relationship there. Unlike the exhaustive research of Ray (1974) and Morantz (1980) on the fur trade impact on Native populations, little investigation has been done on the role of Indians in the British Columbia fur trade. Scholarly works which do exist are those of Duff (1964) who first saw the Indians as serving a pivotal role in the fur trade and Fisher (1977) who continued with more comprehensive work on this subject. The specific topic of Carrier-fur trader relations has not been addressed by either researcher.

The Coast Salish Indians

As with the Carrier, the Coast Salish culture is summarized. The relationship between Coast Salish and the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Langley is outlined. The Coast Salish are one of the west coast tribes, known for their rich social and artistic traditions. Fortunately, much has been written about Coast Salish culture. Coast Salish artifacts have been collected since the eighteenth century so material evidence of their precontact society still exists (Gustafson, 1980). Recent revival of Coast Salish weaving has brought about renewed interest in their textile traditions (Gustafson, 1980; Johnson & Bernick, 1986). Their

prehistory has been revealed through archaeological excavations (Burley, 1980).

Coast Salish groups occupy a large area of the lower mainland of British Columbia and Washington State, U.S.A. Their territory includes the lower reaches of the Fraser River and its delta, north to Bute Inlet, west to Vancouver Island, the Gulf Islands, and south to Puget Sound (Barnett, 1955; British Columbia Heritage Series [BCHS], 1952; Ravenhill, 1938) (see Figure 1). Coast Salish groups are related by their language. There are twenty-three dialects among the Coast Salish and these dialects relate to various occupation sites of Coast Salish subgroups (Gustafson, 1980). Indians living near Fort Langley are the Kwantlen (Duff, 1952) and the Katzie (Suttles, 1955) which are village names. These two bands became directly involved with the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Langley.

Linguistic similarities have led anthropologists to speculate that the Coast Salish originated from an interior tribe which moved west long ago and absorbed a west coast tribe (Barnett, 1955; BCHS, 1952). Burley (1980), however, claims that cultural differences between Coast and Interior Salish are too great for this theory to hold true.

Coast Salish have many cultural features typical of coast tribes. Their stratified society was based on wealth and nobility. They were a matrilineal society yet exceptions could be made for various circumstances (Duff, 1952; Suttles, 1955). Property was owned only by men (Barnett, 1955). Typical of coast tribes, the Potlatch was an important ceremony among the Coast Salish. Barnett (1955) provides a useful description of the significance of the Potlatch in Coast Salish society.

> The mere possession of wealth was not sufficient to give a man prestige. In order to acquire that, he was obliged to make a public assertion of every fact or event which contributed to an advance or change in his social position. Such as assertion always had to be made before formally invited guests from outside his own extended family, who listened to his announcements and vouched for his claims, and to whom he, in turn, distributed presents in the form of blankets, skins, planks, food, etc. [Potlatches were held] to assume a family name, which carried with it a cluster of rights and prerogatives.... No one could raise a house or grave post, or be married, or name his child, and expect the matter to be taken seriously if he did not 'call the people' as witnesses. (p.253)

The Potlatch was also referred to as the "blanket-throwing ceremony" which reveals the importance of blankets as Potlatch gifts in Coast Salish society (Gustafson, 1980).

The Coast Salish spent winter months in permanent village sites. Summer was spent at various food gathering and preparation sites. For the Kwantlen, primary summer activities were catching and drying salmon. Salmon entered the Fraser River on their way to spawning grounds and Indians gathered at Yale where the river narrows for best fishing (Duff, 1952; Suttles, 1955).

Coast Salish territory is rich in the variety of flora and fauna, providing food, clothing, and dyes. Yellow cedar was preferred over red cedar for weaving fibers; it produced a softer, finer yarn (Turner, 1979). Stinging nettle and Indian hemp were also important weaving fibers. They were usually combined with other materials such as mountain goat wool, dog hair, and feathers (Gustafson, 1980; Johnson & Bernick, 1986; Turner, 1975). All coast tribes in British Columbia had a weaving tradition (Ravenhill, 1938). The Coast Salish were unusual because they used dog hair as a principle fiber in their weaving. Though dogs used for this purpose were extinct by the 1850's, many

written descriptions of the dog survive (Barnett, 1955; Horway, 1918). Animals hides of deer, bear, cougar, and seal were tanned using brains or oil to soften and prepare the skin (Barnett, 1955). These skins were made into garments; they were especially important for tunics and moccasins (Barnett, 1955; Hill-Tout, 1905). Animal fur was used as trim; it was either sewn on garments or woven into textiles.

During the maritime fur trade, sea otters became the most desired fur for trade (Holm & Vaughan, 1982). Living too far south to hunt sea otters, the Coast Salish were not as involved in early trade as were more northerly tribes. However, they did acquire trade goods; when Fort Langley was established in 1827, Indians living in that region were quite familiar with white men and European merchandise (McDonald, 1827).

Like many other Hudson's Bay Company posts, a population of homeguard Indians grew at Fort Langley soon after its construction. Most of the food traded to the post was gathered from the environment (Fort Langley became a main depot for supplying salmon to the Hudson's Bay Company). By 1839 homeguard Indians were raising gardens in a manner taught to them by Hudson's Bay Company traders (Rich, 1943). While agriculture was new to the Coast Salish, their sedentary precontact lifestyle made the change to homeguard Indians relatively easy. They continued to gather the majority of food for themselves and for the post by traditional methods (Barnett, 1955; Suttles, 1955).

Hudson's Bay Company employees took Coast Salish women as country wives. Chief Trader James Murray Yale was known to have had at least two Coast Salish wives prior to his marriage to a Kwantlen woman. With these women Yale had three daughters whom he raised at the post (Morton,

1988a). Most of the servants were married to Native women soon after the establishment of Fort Langley and resided there with wives and children (Cullen, 1973; Morton, 1988a). Jason Allard, the son of a Hudson's Bay Company employee and raised at the post in the mid nineteenth century, remarked:

> It was the custom in those days to encourage marriage between the employees of the company and native women. Some were married according to the Indian custom, but afterwards, on the arrival of the priests, were remarried...Mr. Yale was very particular about getting the men married into good families amongst the Indians for the protection of the fort. (quoted from Morton, 1988a, p.274)

Other than Morton and Cullen whose research was carried out for the Fort Langley National Historic Park, little research has been done on Indian-fur trader relations at Fort Langley. No research has been located which examines Coast Salish consumer behaviour with regards to the fur trade. Their weaving tradition has attracted much attention though few researchers mention the impact of the fur trade on their dress style. Marr (1979) observed an impact of the fur trade on Coast Salish weaving but did not extend her research to include other Coast Salish clothing.

The Fur Trade in British Columbia

The protocontact and fur trade periods are considered in this research. The fur trade history of British Columbia involved both maritime trade and inland trade. Maritime fur traders were independent British, American, and Russian merchants who sailed to the Pacific west coast trading European or Chinese goods for furs. Once permanent posts were established, their trading ability was limited. From 1830 to 1850, the Hudson's Bay Company employees formed the majority of non-Natives on

the Pacific slope. After 1850 Great Britain began colonizing the Pacific slope and governing native Indians living there (Fisher, 1977). Changes which result from British occupation bring an end to the fur trade as the dominant Euro-Canadian presence in this territory. How both the maritime and the inland fur trade may have affected Carrier and Coast Salish Indians is discussed in this section as well as the establishment of Fort St. James and Fort Langley.

The Maritime Fur Trade

The first recorded contact between a European and the west coast Indians is that of Juan Perez who met the Haida in 1774 (Archer, 1981; Holm & Vaughan, 1982; Pethick, 1976). Coast tribes had a long tradition of trade amongst themselves and were eager to trade with Perez. This first encounter and the subsequent discovery that furs obtained through trade with the Indians could be resold for enormous profits, established the maritime fur trade (Archer, 1981; Fisher, 1977; Holm & Vaughan, 1982).

Indians involved in the maritime trade were primarily the Nootka; however Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian also took part. The maritime fur trade was the sole trading activity on the Pacific slope from 1774 to 1806 (Fisher, 1977). Trade began slowly. Ships visiting the west coast in the 1770's were concerned primarily with exploration and claiming territory for their native countries (Pethick, 1976). In 1785, traders interested solely in trade began sailing to the Pacific coast (Archer, 1981; Lamb & Bartroli, 1989-90). Indians initially wanted trade goods coveted in their own precontact society so metal objects, especially

iron and copper, were in high demand. Clothing and cloth were also important items of trade from the beginning (Blackman, 1976; Fisher, 1977). With the coast Indians' love of adornment, objects which could be used to decorate the body or home were also popular trade items. A member of Captain Vancouver's voyage to the Pacific coast in the late eighteenth century noted:

> All the Indians that we have seen this year on the Coast have preferred Copper to all other Articles. Blue cloth was I believe equally as valuable. Next to these two articles all other kinds of Cloth of Woollen [sic] manufacture, large Yellow Metal Buttons, Copper, Tea & Cooking Kettles were in most estimation. (Meany, 1915, p.38)

As in other Indian-fur trader situations, guns quickly became common trade items (Archer, 1981; Morantz, 1980; Ray & Freeman, 1978).

Some historians maintain that the Indians desire for European manufactured goods created a dependency on them; this preference for trade goods helped eliminate their own aboriginal technology and material culture (Bishop, 1972). Duff (1964) writes:

> The changes which began with the Nootkas bargaining eagerly with Captain Cook for pieces of iron gained momentum until the Indians had become almost wholly dependent on the whites for materials and manufactured goods. Metal cutting-blades replaced those of stone, bone, and shell. The gun displaced the bow and arrow, dagger, and club. Tailored clothes and blankets replaced garments and robes of bark, wool, and skin, and put an end to the ancient technique used in their manufacture. (p.77)

From accounts of the fur traders, we are told that European goods were favored among coast Indians. Hammell (1986) suggested that the popularity of European goods stemmed from their uniqueness in Indian culture. He reassessed Native motives in trading to identify reasons why they traded valuable pelts for "baubles and beads". The desire to stand out or to show off was strong among west coast Indians. European

trade goods accommodated this characteristic by being different from native manufactured goods and were therefore as desirous as the knives, guns, and other goods traded.

European influence on west coast Indian culture was minimal during the maritime fur trade period. Coast tribes were populous and trading ships spent only short periods amongst the Indians. Some of the manufactured products bought by Indians, such as knives and iron pots, replaced aboriginal products. Other European trade goods were brought inland to trade with interior Indians (Blackman, 1976; Fisher, 1977). A member of Captain Vancouver's crew observed that Coast Indians were trading goods inland:

> But of all the different things they [the Natives] get the Woollen [sic] Cloth is almost the only one that is ever seen among them a second time, for they wear it on them and in the same fashion they wear their own garments. Perhaps the other articles they send inland to Barter with different tribes of Indians, for what, those on the Sea Coast cannot themselves attain. (Meany, 1915, p.38)

Therefore, while coast tribes traded for European merchandise, only a portion of these goods remained within their culture.

Indians living in the interior did not have direct access to trade with the maritime fur traders. Archaeological excavations of Carrier sites in central British Columbia reveal that the Carrier, coast Tsimshian, and Bella Coola had extensive trade networks dating to ancient times (Borden, 1952; Donahue, 1975; Wilmeth, 1975). This trade increased once the coast tribes had access to European manufactured goods (Bishop, 1983, 1987; Goldman, 1963). Furs obtained through interior trade networks were brought to the coast where they were traded with Europeans; some coast Indians relied on profits gained from inland

trading to pay for their own purchases (Fisher, 1977). Increased trading activity between coast and interior tribes led to the rise of middlemen Indians. The importance of middlemen traders in the Canadian prairie west was studied by Ray (1974). Ray found that the Hudson's Bay Company benefitted from middlemen as they did not have to venture inland to contact various Indian groups; middlemen distributed European goods through their own trade networks and returned furs to the posts on Hudson's Bay. Coast tribes provided a similar service to maritime fur traders. In both situations, middlemen benefitted much from their role (Fisher, 1977; Ray, 1974). Not only were they wealthy, but their wealth gave them prestige among their band thereby enabling them to obtain higher ranks (Blackman, 1976; Rich, 1967).

Trade between coast and interior Indians meant that European trade goods reached the interior Indians long before Europeans themselves. Alexander Mackenzie noted that Carriers he encountered possessed European trade items though they had not previously encountered white men (Donahue, 1975; Lamb, 1970). Simon Fraser and Alexander Mackenzie remarked on the presence of cloth and metal goods among the Carrier and Sekani which they had obtained from coast Native groups (Lamb, 1960, 1970).

The success of the maritime fur trade opened the Pacific slope to eventual land based fur enterprises. European cultural influences were limited during the maritime fur trade because Europeans met with Natives only to carry out trade. Permanent fur trade posts in the interior would have a more profound affect on Indian culture in British Columbia than did the maritime fur trade.

The Inland Fur Trade

East of the Rocky Mountains, the fur trade of Rupert's Land and Canada was embroiled in stiff competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. The Hudson's Bay Company began its move inland in order to compete with the North West Company in the third quarter of the eighteenth century (Rich, 1967). The North West Company, because of its successes in Athapaskan territory, was eager to continue its explorations of new territories and to set up trade with new groups of Indians (Innis, 1967; Rich, 1967).

Alexander Mackenzie's journey to the Pacific Coast in 1793 was the first penetration into the transalpine west from the east. Though his attempt to find a viable transportation route to the Pacific was unsuccessful, he brought the area to the attention of others. He also did some trading with Carrier Indians, the first white man to do so (Ormsby, 1958). Several years later, Nor'wester Simon Fraser continued explorations of the Pacific slope.

In 1805 Fraser and a number of other North West Company men crossed into the transalpine west and established Fort Mcleod. This post was in Sekani Indian territory. The following year, they established Stuart Lake Outpost (Fort St. James), the first post on the Fraser River watershed. Fort St. James became the headquarters of the New Caledonia fur trade district, an area rich in fur-bearing animals. Fort St. James and subsequent posts such as Fort Fraser, Fort George, and Fort Alexandria were all within Carrier territory (Fisher, 1977; Morice, 1905; Morton, 1988b).

Transporting goods into and furs out of New Caledonia was difficult. Efforts were made to set up fur brigades to New Caledonia via the Pacific Ocean. Goods from either England or eastern Canada were brought to Fort Vancouver at the mouth of the Columbia River on the Pacific coast. Fur brigades traveled up the Columbia, into Okanagan territory, through Fort Kamloops, and overland to the Fraser River at Fort Alexandria. Supplies were then brought to Fort St. James where they would be redistributed to smaller trading posts (Morton, 1988b; Ormsby, 1958; Rich, 1947).

North West Company posts were transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company after their amalgamation in 1821. Soon after the amalgamation, Governor George Simpson travelled across British North America inspecting the fur trade posts now under the name Hudson's Bay Company. His purpose was to improve efficiency at the posts and to ensure that correct trading practices were followed (Innis, 1967; Rich, 1967). Trade between coast Indians and interior Indians had continued during the inland fur trade period (Fisher, 1977). This caused concern among Hudson's Bay Company officials; Simpson felt that trade which was continued by independent marine traders could be thwarted by building permanent posts along the Pacific coast. Simpson ordered the establishment of Fort Langley in Coast Salish territory and Fort Simpson in Tsimshian territory (Fisher, 1977; Rich, 1967). These posts would provide continuous service to Indians living there, thereby encouraging them to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company.

While the number of Euro-Canadians employed by the Hudson's Bay Company in New Caledonia and Columbia district was small, the presence

of the fur trade posts did bring about some changes to Indian culture. The most apparent change was among Indians who had posts established in their traditional territory. They had direct and continuous contact with fur traders and European merchandise. This led to the establishment of "homeguard" Indians, those people who settled around the post and provided traders with food, labour and furs (Fisher, 1977). Ray (1976) and Morantz (1980) have extensively researched the homeguards around the Hudson's Bay Company posts on Hudson and James Bay, tracing their growth and involvement in the fur trade. Like the Natives of Hudson's Bay, Indians in the west took advantage of the new situation and set themselves up to benefit as much as possible from the fur trade. Homeguard Indians also sought to control trade at the post by intercepting visiting Indians (Fisher, 1977). Morantz (1980) and Bishop (1972) found that Indians who filled the role of the homeguard experienced more culture change than did those Indians who had limited involvement in the fur trade. Many Indians' involvement with the fur trade was limited to the annual journey to the posts or to obtaining European goods through middlemen. Documentation of culture change brought about by the fur trade has not been carried out on the Coast Salish at Fort Langley and the Carrier at Fort St. James. Father Morice (1905), however, commented that the Carrier at Fort St. James "are of all the Carriers who have made the greatest strides towards civilization" (p.26). His definition of civilization is not given but one may assume that he means they have been "Europeanized".

The inland fur trade provided Indians with continuous access to European manufactured products. While metal and guns were popular,

clothing and dress goods were one of the mainstays of trade. Cloth, blankets, and some garments were traded during the maritime fur trade and demand for them remained high during the inland fur trade. Wright (1981) tells us that "new cloth was plentiful [reported Patrick Grass of the Lewis and Clark expedition], even before land-based fur trade operations began" (p.532). Ready-made garments such as pantaloons, shirts, vests, and the *capeau* were purchased and worn by both men and women (Wright, 1981). The blanket became a constant trade item. Blankets, because they were easy to sort and count were good Potlatch gifts (Fisher, 1977). Researchers have commented on the importance of clothing and textiles in the fur trade but few have provided analysis of types of merchandise bought by Indians and how they incorporated it into their native dress (Feather & Silbey, 1978). Chance (1973) and Ross (1976) found clothing to be a very important trade article in the Columbia district.

Costume History

Though costume history is a limited field, costume historians have provided insight into history through their research of dress. Material culture can be used to illustrate the adoption, innovation, and acculturation which may take place when a culture encounters an outside stimulus, usually in the form of a different culture. Dress is especially effective in illustrating culture change because it often reflects the culture's economy, technology, social structure, and religion (Horn, 1975). Kaiser (1985) states that "clothing can be a valuable tool in the study of different cultures...Cross-cultural

researchers can study processes of style adoption from a social-psychological perspective, so that the effects of intercultural contact on the individual can be assessed" (p.418).

Pannabecker (1980) used her research on ribbonwork of the Great Lakes Indians to demonstrate the process of acculturation. Through historic documents, ethnographic reports, artifacts, and oral histories Pannabecker traced the origins, diffusion and persistence of ribbonwork. Her research traced the Great Lakes Indians' adoption of European trade materials and creation of new "aboriginal" dress which they now identify as traditional.

Grounds (1988) investigated how changes in women's dress was associated with specific events in Navajo history, during the period 1860 to 1910. This fifty year span saw enormous changes in the Navajo culture. By examining their dress, Grounds documented Navajo women's gradual switch from their aboriginal mantle dress to the European style fitted dress. Grounds divided the time period into sub-periods and did a content analysis of dress features on extant garments and garments in photographs. She then ran statistical analysis on her data, including frequencies, cross tabulations, and correlations. From the results, she was able to outline specific dress style changes among Navajo women which were associated with social and political changes within their culture.

Research into culture change due to contact with an outside culture is of interest to many historians and anthropologists (Barnett, 1953; Linton, 1963). Material culture, including dress, is commonly used to illustrate culture change. Anawalt (1976) used Barnett's (1953)

theory of innovation to trace the adoption of European dress elements into the dress of Middle American Indians. Her research is sensitive to the fact that not all change which occurred in Middle American dress was due to the European presence; some changes occurred naturally and were the result of the culture's own invention.

Steiner (1985) found that textiles could provide much ethnohistorical information about trading relationship between European merchant and African cloth consumers. He discovered that European textile merchants were in tune to the African market and made efforts to create textiles based on African aesthetics. In much the same way that Ray and Freeman (1978) were able to abolish stereotypes of the Indian consumer by examining what they did and did not buy, Steiner shows that the West Africans were respected consumers.

Earnest's (1976) study of European influences on textiles of California Indians resulted in some interesting observations. Nudity was the common form of dress for these Natives and despite Spanish attempts to have them wear garments, these Indians remained resistant to change for some time. An interesting phenomenon, however, was the way in which they imitated European dress. Earnest states that the Indians

> appear to have found the wearing of clothing by the Europeans to be a constant source of amusement. For example in the Southwest Coast region the Indians took to painting a facsimile of European clothing on their bodies. It had been the practice of the early natives to paint and stain their faces and bodies. [It was observed] that the Indians applied this same practice in order to imitate the European habit of dress. They would paint a coat, a waistcoat, stockings, shoes with buckles, buttons, even buttonholes. (p.366)

Earnest found that the Indians conversion to Christianity played the greatest role in persuading the Indians to wear clothes.

Though these examples are few, they demonstrate the way in which dress has been used to research history. They also provide some insight into the amount of information and level of enquiry which is possible through dress.

Theoretical Framework

One of the primary approaches to this thesis research is ethnohistory. Ethnohistory is "the use of historical and ethnological methods and materials to gain knowledge of the nature and causes of change in a culture defined by ethnological concepts and categories" (Axtell, 1979, p.2).

Ethnohistory differs from the related fields of history, archaeology, and ethnography in a number of ways. One characteristic of ethnohistory is that it allows one to address aspects of culture other than just political or social events. While archaeology must rely on what survives to interpret the past, ethnohistory is able to deal with "descriptions of behavior which are archaeologically invisible" (Bishop & Ray, 1976, p.123). Ethnohistory may be considered as history of culture related to but not necessarily based on anthropology. It incorporates the chronology of history and the synchronism of ethnology (Axtell, 1979).

Axtell goes on to say that ethnohistory is useful in tracing sociocultural change. Early American anthropologists have been criticized by their use of "back streaming"; they would assume features of past cultures by examining features of present cultures. Bishop & Ray (1976) tell us that "ethnographic models based upon field studies of

Algonkian, Siouan and Athapaskan-speaking peoples, although often excellent, can be highly misleading if used uncritically and extended backwards to the prehistoric or protohistoric period" (p.117). One way to cross-reference features of prehistoric or protohistoric cultures is to use ethnohistorical approaches.

Ethnohistory allows one "to gauge the degree of change that occurs in cultures and to comprehend the historical factors involved in and determining change" (Axtell, 1979, p.4). One must be certain that the period examined is long enough to keep a time perspective on culture changes and processes (Bishop & Ray, 1976). As for the criticism that the material on which ethnohistorians rely is biased and not objective, Bishop and Ray (1976) contend that "it should be stressed that although most historical records are 'purposeful', it does not follow that they are biased to favor presenting particular points of view of culture history. For example...the account books of a fur trading company often contain a wealth of information which can provide valuable insights into the nature and rates of material culture changes among various Indian groups" (p.120). Pannabecker (1990) states that ethnohistory should be considered a method which makes use of both historical and anthropological approaches. She explains that this approach is useful for studying clothing and textiles as it enables one to place them within a cultural context. Too often dress is viewed in isolation even though it is acknowledged that society, technology, and morals influence dress style and production.

Ethnohistorians use a variety of sources to piece together the history of a culture. Besides manuscripts and books, these sources may

include personal letters, drawings, paintings, artifacts, maps, place names, photographs, oral histories and enduring customs, ceremonies, and dress styles (Axtell, 1979).

Pedersen (1988) acknowledges that "there is a lack of models of historical analysis for costume historians" (p.1). She proposes a theoretical framework which is a "synthesis of anthropological theoretical framework and the human ecosystem framework" (p.1). She describes dress as a micro-environment which is a response to physical and cultural environments. In anthropology, dress is seen as a "form of behavior and functions in sustaining society and culture" (p.2). Pedersen developed a framework in which one examines dress in terms of inputs, transformations, and outputs. Inputs include such factors as the natural environment (resources, climate), the "human constructed environment" (human resources for production, existing examples of clothing, shelter, sociocultural systems), and the "human behavioral environment" (thoughts, emotions, relationships, reference groups). The transformation process includes production, values, consumption, design, communication, and information processing. The outputs are, of course, garments. Other outputs are styles of garments, and the garments which are not used, thrown away or remade into other items. The input-transformation-output model can be examined as isolated events (e.g. at one particular time) or in a series where the output of one event becomes the input of another event. The second type of model is used to trace changes in dress over time. It would be useful to help determine outside influences as the resulting pattern could be examined for abrupt

changes in styles. Pedersen did not provide examples of how her theoretical framework was put to use.

Barnett (1942, 1953; Anawalt, 1976) had some interesting theories on culture change, innovation, adoption, adaptation, and invention. He points out that contact between two cultures is more often a positive stimulus than a negative one. He also points out that just because one culture adopts something from another culture, that thing does not necessarily keep the "meaning-function" placed on it by the donating society. He maintains that no matter what the object is, it is what society determines the object to be that defines it (e.g. a desk rather than a table). He also theorizes that there is nothing new, only different combinations of the same things. Barnett (1942) wrote:

> In the meeting of two cultures we have the problem of the conjunction of already well established and functioning traits. They are already in existence so that it is not a question of their creation but of the psychological responses to their juxtaposition....With respect to their formal differences and in terms of their other variables there are four possible combinations resulting from the meeting of two cultures: different forms utilizing different principles but serving the same function; different forms utilizing the same principle but serving different functions; different forms utilizing the same principles to serve the same function; and different forms utilizing different principles for different functions. (1942, pp.22-23)

Barnett (1942) provided a useful example of his theory. He suggested that a European-style row boat could take the place of a Tsimshian canoe because it would serve the same basic function, a human-powered vehicle for travelling on water. While the function is the same, the form is different and this could cause difficulties. The Tsimshian may not know how to row rather than paddle. The technology needed to repair or replace the boat may not be present in their

society. A rowboat may not be accepted as a proper Potlatch gift. Thus form and function are determining factors in adoption or innovation and affect the level of cultural exchange or acculturation. Such thoughts could be directed towards dress as well.

METHOD

Methods used for data gathering and analysis are outlined in this chapter. Historical research, according to Touliatos and Compton (1988) "operates within an explicit theoretical framework, and it requires the systematic collection and evaluation of data to test hypotheses or answer research questions" (p. 297). McBreen (1984) outlines steps needed in historical research:

1 - The location of all available data or evidence.

2 - The criticism of that evidence.

3 - The relating of that evidence (p.541).

The final step is the interpretation process which "changes history from raw data to information of value" (McBreen, 1984, p.542).

Ethnohistorical research also requires a systematic approach. Axtell (1979) states that ethnohistory makes use of historical methods yet goes beyond history by making use of sources other than written materials to gather information. While archival written material is of primary importance to gathering data, ethnohistorians may also turn to artifacts, maps, oral traditions, and illustrations to provide information. In the tradition of ethnohistory, this thesis will make use of a variety of sources to obtain information on Carrier and Coast Salish dress.

Selection of Sources

Hudson's Bay Company Archival Material

From the Hudson Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg, Manitoba one may obtain documents related to fur trade operations at Fort St. James and Fort Langley. Copies of documents on microfilm are available through interlibrary loan. Materials include post journals, correspondence inward, correspondence outward, and account books. Several accounts of operations were kept such as servant's (employee) accounts, trading accounts, annual inventories and sometimes Indian debit-credit books. Fort St. James functioned on the credit and debit system. Foodstuffs, furs and labour provided to the post by Indians were credited to individual accounts in the form of Made Beaver[1]. Goods obtained at the post were then debited from the person's account. Fortunately, one of these debit books has survived from Fort St. James, the *Accounts and Private Orders of People Attached to Hudson's Bay Company Posts, 1838-1848* (BCPA A/B/20/St9.1). An example of records kept in the debit-credit books can be seen in Appendix II. Fort Langley did not keep such records as trade with Indians was normally carried out immediately in the trade store (Cullen, 1973, Morton, 1988a). Fort Langley kept records of supplies imported for trade (called outfits), furs obtained through trade, and inventories.

For consistency, inventories from Fort St. James and Fort Langley were analyzed. Inventories of goods on hand were taken on an annual basis and include a list of supplies for trade. The Hudson Bay Company

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[1]For information on the Made Beaver standard, consult Ray & Freeman (1978) or Rich (1960).

was attuned to what Native trappers wanted so they rarely imported goods which would not be desired by the Indians (Rich, 1960). Purchases made by Company employees came directly from Fort Vancouver and were not part of the merchandise imported for trade. Thus inventories are good indicators of supplies being sold to local Natives.

Post journals were kept to give a regular account of life at the post. Information on level of trade, relations with Natives, social activities, labour, and incidence was documented. Journals from Fort St. James and Fort Langley have survived in very limited quantities. Journals from other related posts such as Fort Vancouver, Fort Nisqually, and Fort Victoria were consulted in an effort to obtain information about Fort Langley and Fort St. James.

Written Descriptions and Illustrations

For details on dress observed by travellers to the Fort St. James and Fort Langley regions, a number of published sources were consulted. This information is invaluable because few, if any, Carrier or Coast Salish garments have survived from the pre-1850 period; one must rely on these sources to provide visuals of dress which cannot be obtained from account books. Descriptions of dress coupled with knowledge of European clothing influences should result in a clear picture of Carrier and Coast Salish dress during the period studied. Written descriptions may provide details on how garments were worn, the level of fit of garments, colours used, and the use of adornment on body and clothing.

Finding authors or artists who kept records of their visits to the Fort St. James and Fort Langley regions was a matter of "hunting them

down". Bibliographies and reference lists from secondary sources provided the majority of names. Names of officers in charge of either Fort St. James or Fort Langley were researched to discover if they had left diaries of their fur trade life. Much of this material was available though copies in the University of Alberta library and in the Canadian Institute for Historical Materials (CIHM) microfiche series. Other sources were available through interlibrary loan. A list of sources consulted, including those which did not provide any useful information, can be found in Appendix III. Descriptions of dress were copied from the source *ver batem* and will be used to discuss the protocontact and early fur trade dress up to 1850.

Other sources

At the onset of this study, the researcher intended to make use of Native elders from the Nak'azdli and Fort Langley bands to provide information on dress. While sources were accessible at Fort St. James, the researcher did not have adequate connections at Fort Langley to interview elders there. The time required to gain trust and intimacy with elders at Fort Langley was unavailable. Information obtained from Nak'azdli was used in the discussion of Carrier dress.

The idea of using Carrier and Coast Salish myths and legends has also been abandoned. Originally, it was hoped that myths and legends would provide clues to the importance of dress in these two cultures. Again, the time required to conduct an in-depth study of legends made this aspect of the research unfeasible. A few published myths were consulted. These include:

CARRIER

The orphan hero in Jenness (1960a, pp.57-65).

The revenge of the mountain goats in Jenness (1960a, pp.66-68).

The return of the child in Jenness (1960a, pp.72-76).

The story of *Mesdzih* (the owl) in Munro (1945, pp.104-107).

Etnaneyaz (the little dwarfs) in Munro (1945, pp.96-99).

The legend of the morning star in Munro (1945, pp. 99-104).

Pursued by their mother's head in Morice (1896, pp.4-10).

Made celestial in Morice (1896, pp.28-22).

The burning down of a country in Morice (1896, pp.22-25).

COAST SALISH

The shadow men in Griffin (1934, pp.85-90).

How lynx won the elk maiden in Griffin (1934, pp.105-110).

How the porcupine was punished in Griffin (1934, pp.111-114).

The thunderer in Griffin (1934, pp.115-118).

The voyage of Swanisit in Jenness (1960a, pp.77-82).

The face-changer in Jenness (1960a, pp.83-87).

Zalock in Jenness (1960a, pp.88-91).

The land of the dwarfs in Jenness (1960a, pp.92-96).

These myths provided little information on dress.

An examination of extant garments from 1830 to 1850 was restricted by a lack of time and money for travel. The following museums were contacted by letter to ask if they had Carrier or Coast Salish clothing artifacts from the early nineteenth century:

Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Québec

University of British Columbia (UBC) Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, British Columbia

Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria, British Columbia

Museum of the American Indian, New York, New York

Burke Museum, Seattle, Washington

Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado

The Burke Museum and Denver Art Museum did not have garments relevant to this research. The museum of the American Indian had some Coast Salish garments and blankets but did not provide enough information to be of use to the researcher. A second letter was sent to them to obtain more information but there was no response. The Canadian Museum of Civilization and Royal British Columbia Museum provided photographs and data sheets on their Carrier and Coast Salish artifacts. Artifact sheets on Carrier and Coast Salish costumes provided by the UBC Museum of Anthropology were also useful. Unfortunately, no Carrier clothing items dated to pre-1850 were located.

Instruments and Procedures

Content analysis was used on information obtained from Hudson's Bay Company account books, namely inventories from Fort St. James and Fort Langley from 1830 to 1850. These data were analyzed using the *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences* (SPSSx). This program is effective in organizing and analyzing large quantities of data.

For Fort Langley and Fort St. James, inventories available are 1830 and 1832 to 1850 inclusive and are from those kept at Fort Vancouver. A comparison between records kept at Fort St. James for New

Caledonia in 1836 (HBCA B188/d/15) and Fort Vancouver's inventory for New Caledonia (HBCA B223/d/85) reveal that they are identical. Inventories from Hudson Bay Company posts list the supplies brought in for trade. They include sections entitled "goods brought forward" (goods on hand), "unsaleable articles", "country made articles", "new stores", "articles in use", "medicines", "provisions", "live stock", and "stationary". The first three lists were of goods available for trade.

From account books, all information relating to dress was recorded on data sheets and entered into the program. The items were entered into categories such as clothing, yardgoods, miscellaneous merchandise, adornment, notions, and grooming items. The name of the article as well as any descriptive information such as colour, size, material, were recorded. Quantities for each like item were noted as well as the unit of measurement. An example of the data sheet and variables analyzed can be found in Appendix IV. Definitions of materials and garments from the account books are found in Appendix V.

Written descriptions of dress from fur trader journals, explorers and travellers provided details on Carrier and Coast Salish dress to 1850. Illustrations were examined for information on how garments were worn and colours available. These types of data cannot be analyzed using a computer program. All information relating to dress or to trading practices and consumer preferences were copied and incorporated into the discussion.

Analysis of Data

As in historical research, most data in ethnohistorical research are synthesized using the interpretive approach. This approach was used by the researcher for much of the available information. Touliatos and Compton (1988) state that for historical research, "the investigator reads and rereads data, compares evidence, and makes many tentative combinations and generalizations" (p.302). While this approach is not scientific, it is methodical and produces satisfactory conclusions.

Data obtained from account books were statistically analyzed, using descriptive statistics.

> Descriptive statistics facilitate comprehension and presentation of a jumbled mass of information collected by presenting the data in an efficient and meaningful summary form. They organize, reduce, and summarize single variables or the relationships among variables for subjects on whom data have been collected. (Touliatos and Compton, 1988, pp.367-368)

Once all information was entered into the program, descriptive statistics such as frequencies and cross-tabulations were run. Summarized by year and by post, this information provided details on quantities of items inventoried over the years. This also allowed for comparisons of goods available at each post.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Hudson's Bay Company account ledgers yielded information on the types and quantities of dress goods available to the Carrier and Coast Salish at Fort St. James (New Caledonia) and Fort Langley from 1830 to 1850. Ethnographic information on both groups summarized features of their traditional aboriginal dress but did not discuss European clothing influences. Written accounts by traders, travellers, and explorers described Carrier and Coast Salish dress from the time of contact to 1850. Elders, legends, illustrations, and artifacts provided additional information on Carrier and Coast Salish dress to 1850. Objectives set forth in this thesis were accomplished through a systematic examination of Hudson's Bay Company account books for Fort St. James and Fort Langley and an analysis of nineteenth century descriptions of Carrier and Coast Salish dress. This information aided in determining the influence of European dress goods on the traditional dress of Carrier and Coast Salish during the fur trade period to 1850. The results are outlined in this chapter.

Hudson's Bay Company Account Records

The first objective of this thesis, to identify European clothing influences on Carrier and Coast Salish dress from 1830 to 1850 was accomplished by analysis of Hudson's Bay Company account records from Fort Langley and Fort St. James (New Caledonia). Knowledge of the types and quantities of European dress goods available to these two groups helped determine how European dress influenced their traditional

aboriginal dress. How Carrier and Coast Salish responded to the presence of European dress goods also reveals the amount of influence the fur traders had on their dress. A comparison between goods inventoried in New Caledonia and Fort Langley from 1830 to 1850 is outlined below.

Between 1830 and 1848 Fort Langley and Fort St. James received goods destined for trade from Fort Vancouver; after 1848 they received supplies from Fort Victoria (Morton, 1988b). Fort Vancouver, being the main depot for the Hudson's Bay Company in the west, received supplies directly from London. Ross (1976) states that:

> The annual shipment of goods from London were primarily composed of British manufactures produced during the formative years of the Industrial Revolution. Most of the provisions and manufactures came from British manufactories, but a few came from such foreign countries as Scotland, France, America, Spain, Holland, Italy and China. The exact percentage of British versus foreign manufactures in unknown, but from the list of known merchants who supplied the Company for Outfits 1823-33 and 1843-54, it becomes apparent that the percentage was probably 90% or higher. (p.129)

Ross (1976) goes on to say that "of all the commodities imported by the Hudson's Bay Company, fabrics and clothing were the most common and valuable. Because ready-made cloth articles were in such high demand by Native populations, the Company relied upon imported rather than 'country-made' items" (p.570). Analysis of Company ledgers supports Ross' statements. The quantities and types of dress goods are summarized in this section. These include blankets, yardgoods, garments, sewing notions, adornment items, and miscellaneous items related to dress. More detailed information on quantities of garments

and dress goods is presented in Appendix VI. A partial glossary of terms is presented in Appendix V.

To determine the relationship between the amount of goods listed and the populations of Natives in the vicinity of Fort Langley and Fort St. James, the following census were found. Archibald McDonald (1827-1830) estimated the population of Coast Salish near Fort Langley in 1830 to be 4160. He acknowledges that most of the population was inland from Fort Langley. These Coast Salish had access to several posts: Fort Nisqually, Fort Vancouver, trading ships along the coast, as well as Fort Langley. The New Caledonia population, estimated by A.C. Anderson in 1839, was 2625. Fort St. James was the major post but five small posts were within Carrier territory: Fort Alexandria, Fort George, Fort Connolly, Fort Babine, and Fort Fraser. It cannot be assumed that all Natives were involved in trading furs for European merchandise. It is therefore difficult to estimate the number of people trading at Fort St. James and Fort Langley.

Blankets

English-made woolen blankets were consistently inventoried in New Caledonia and Fort Langley from 1830 to 1850[2] (see Figure 2). From 1830 to 1845, types of blankets were plain, green, and green and yellow striped. After 1845, scarlet and blue blankets were introduced.

It appears that Fort Langley received more blankets than posts in New Caledonia. The numbers of blankets inventoried in New Caledonia varied from 135 (in 1830) to 340 (in 1848). This range is small compared to Fort Langley where as few as 123 were listed in 1840 and 1117 were listed in 1846. One reason for low fluctuation in numbers of blankets in New Caledonia may have been that inventories were consistently recorded in the spring and outfits arrived in the late summer. This may also account for the low numbers of blankets recorded in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley[3]. Fort Langley received merchandise for trade from Fort Vancouver by ship which was not limited to travelling at only one time of the year. The large fluctuations in

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[2]Records for 1831 were missing in the Hudson's Bay Company archival microfilm available to the researcher.

[3]Comparison of blankets imported to New Caledonia and Fort Langley according to Fort Vancouver outfits show that there was a fluctuation in quantities of blankets imported to Fort Langley. It also suggests that Fort Langley received more than one shipment of blankets a year as only plain blankets are listed in the outfit while green blankets appear in the inventories.

	New Caledonia	Fort Langley	
1831	12 green 436 plain	100 green 1652 plain	HBCA B223/d/34
1834	36 green 416 plain	596 plain	HBCA B223/d/65
1835	30 green 418 plain	515 plain	HBCA B223/d/72

FIGURE 2
Quantities of blankets inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.

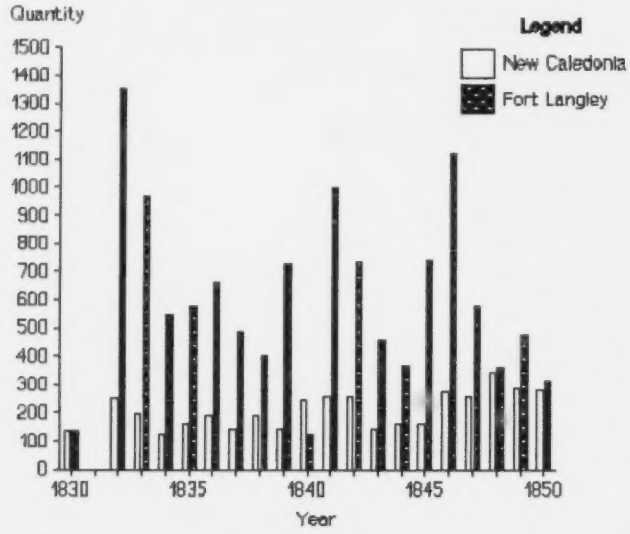
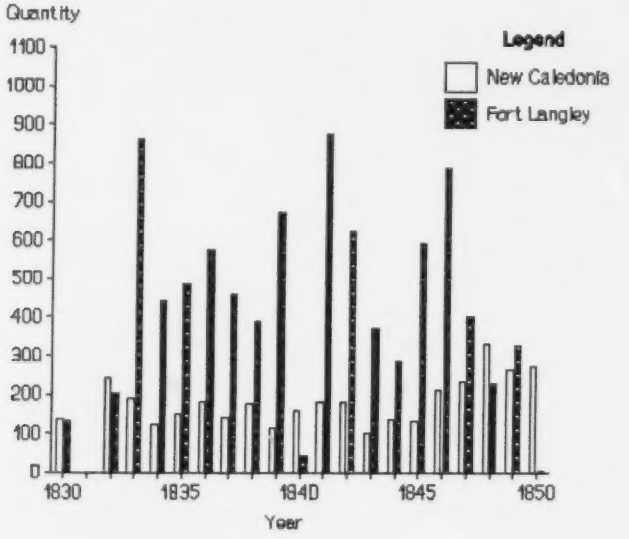


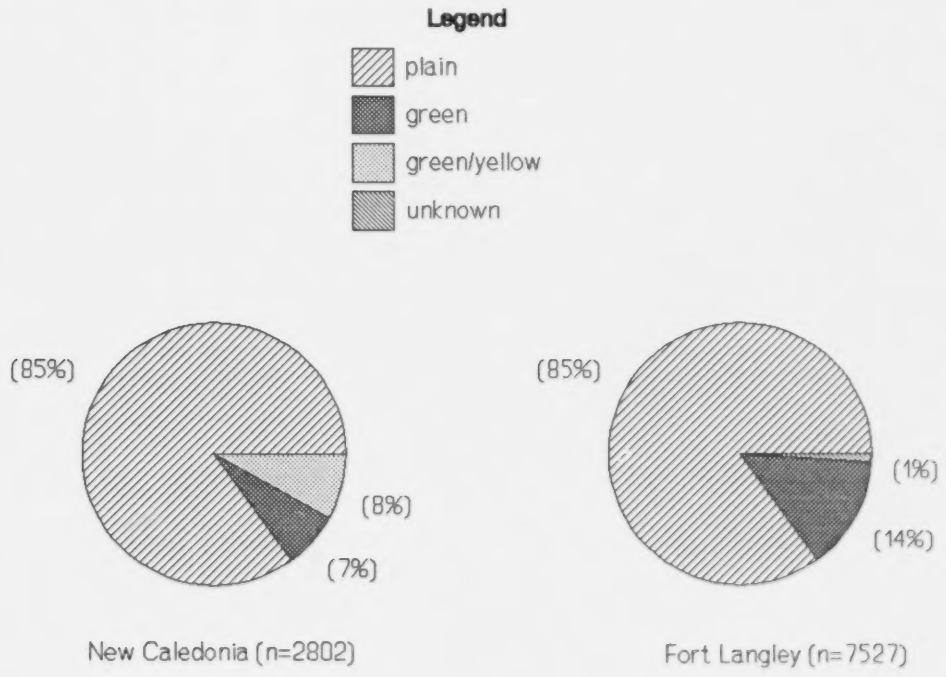
FIGURE 3
Quantities of plain blankets inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.



numbers of blankets inventoried at Fort Langley may be due to shipments arriving at different times of the year; low numbers may have been recorded when shipments arrived after inventories were taken and high numbers recorded when shipments arrived before the annual inventories. Years in which numbers of blankets were similar between New Caledonia and Fort Langley are probably due to chance.

Blankets were important in Coast Salish dress and were their main form of covering garment. Archibald McDonald, chief trader at Fort Langley from 1827 to 1830 noted that when trading with Cowitchen Indians

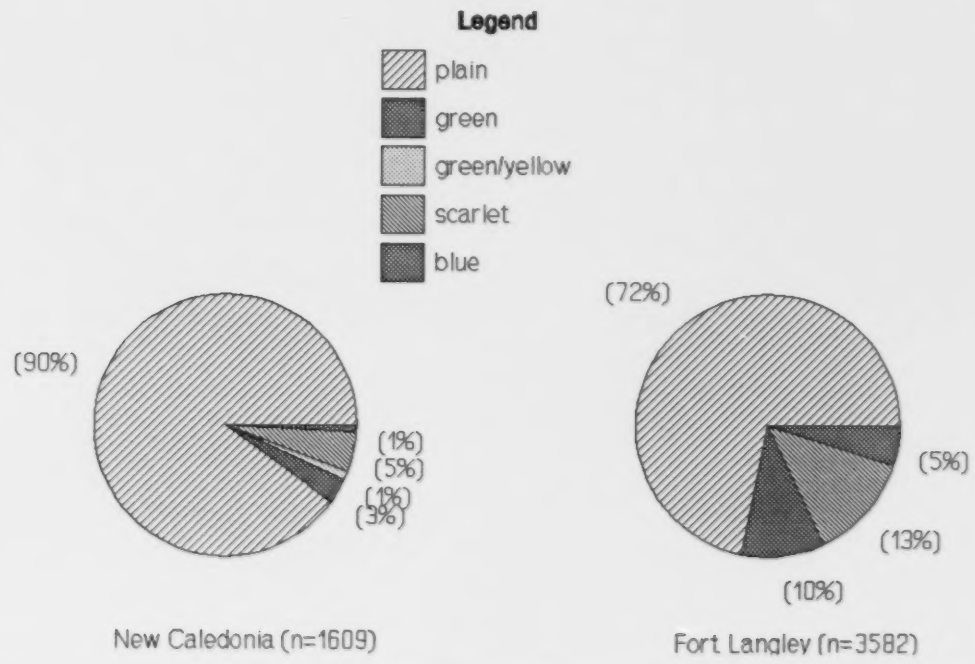
FIGURE 4
Colours of blankets inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1844.



(part of the Coast Salish group), "blanketry is the only article which they accept in exchange for [furs]" (1827, p.26). Traditional Carrier dress did not include woven blankets though they did have robes made of pieced or looped strips of fur.

Green and plain blankets are listed every year from 1830 to 1850 in New Caledonia and Fort Langley. Plain blankets were sold in the greatest quantities in both regions (see Figure 3). Again one sees a great fluctuation in the numbers of blankets in Fort Langley compared to New Caledonia. All plain blankets listed in New Caledonia after 1838

FIGURE 5
Colours of blankets inventoried in New Caledonia and Fort Langley, 1845 to 1850.



had blue bands. At Fort Langley, plain blankets were described as having blue bands, red bands, and black bands. Plain blankets with blue bands were most common.

Between 1830 and 1844, plain blankets made up 85% of the blankets inventoried in both New Caledonia and Fort Langley (see Figure 4). The remaining 15% of blankets in New Caledonia were green and yellow striped blankets (8%) and green blankets (7%). At Fort Langley, this 15% consisted of 14% green and one percent of unknown colour. After 1845, plain blankets increased to 90% of the blankets listed in New Caledonia (see Figure 5). Despite the introduction of more colours in 1845 to the Carrier, plain blankets remained popular. After 1845 scarlet blankets accounted for 5% of blankets inventoried in New Caledonia while 3% were green, 1.5% blue, and 0.5% green and yellow striped (only two green and yellow striped blankets were listed after 1845; one in 1846 and one in 1849).

At Fort Langley, the percentages of plain blankets decreased from 85% prior to 1845 to 72% after 1845. Green blankets continued to be listed in large quantities; they were 10% of blankets inventoried from 1845 to 1850. Five percent of blankets were blue. Red blankets appeared to be readily adopted by the Coast Salish, quickly making up 13% of blankets inventoried. A notation in the 1847 requisition for goods from Fort Vancouver referred to the importance of scarlet blankets:

> the scarlet Blankets to be of a fast bright scarlet color as heretofore received. We by that the most particular attention be paid to this point, as it constitutes the real value of the article. (HBCA B223/D/164 p.2)

Indians expected all blankets to be of high quality. Competition by American and Russian traders on the coast forced the Company to heed to this demand. John McLoughlin, chief factor of Fort Vancouver, writes to Company headquarters in 1837:

> In regards to the Blankets of an Inferior quality at a reduction of 25 p.cent, on the prices on the same sized Blankets, mentioned in the 20th paragraph of Yours 20th Feby. '36, I beg to recomment, that no reduction be allowed in the quality of our Goods, as these Indians prefer to give a higher price for a good article, than to purchase an Inferior, at a cheaper rate; It must be kept in mind that the greater part of these Indians are to a very great extent independent of us, and that if an Opposition was to come with better Goods, it would get the furs, and our Goods would remain on our hands. (Rich, 1941, p.212)

Some "inferior" blankets were listed in the New Caledonia and Fort Langley inventories but in small numbers.

Blankets varied in size from one point to four points, one point being the smallest[4]. Four point blankets were not available to the Coast Salish until 1850. Green, blue, and scarlet blankets were consistently three points in size. Plain or white blankets were available in sizes from one point to three-and-a-half points. At Fort Langley, most blankets (83%) were the two-and-one-half size. In New Caledonia, one size of blanket did not dominate as it did in Fort Langley; 41% of the blankets were three point and 27% were two-and-one-half point.

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[4]Points referred to small marks on the blankets. Originally the points denoted the value of the blanket in Made Beaver. The larger the blanket, the more the blanket cost.

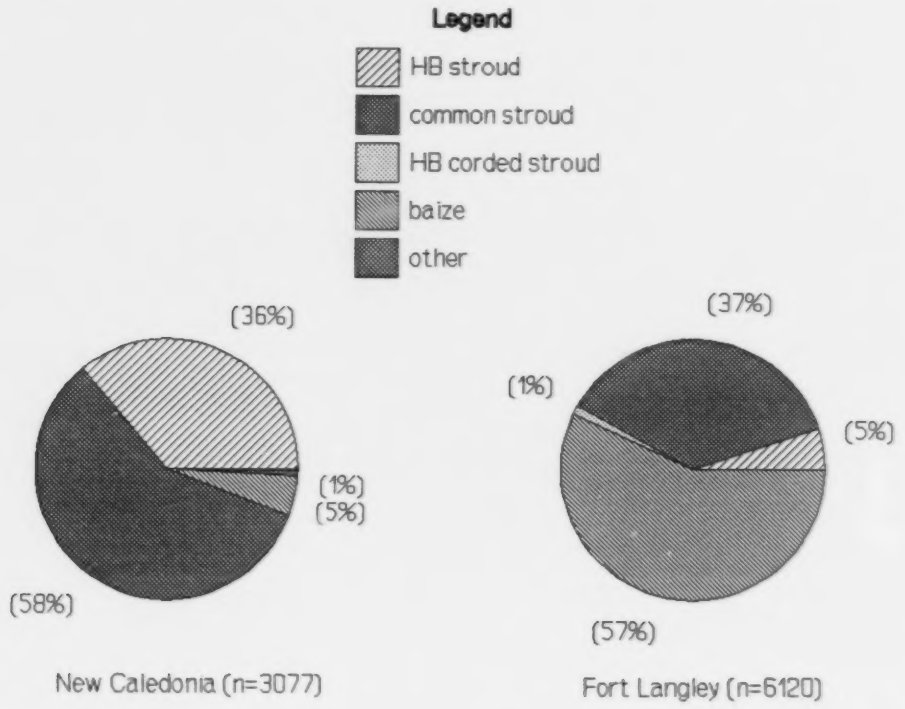
Yardgoods

Tallying the amount of yardgoods imported to Fort Langley and Fort St. James was hindered by the use of the term "piece" as a unit of measurement. Piece, when used in reference to cloth, refers to a predetermined length, usually agreed upon by the manufacturer and buyer. Reference to piece sizes were found in the Fort Vancouver records for all fabrics other than duffle. Piece sizes for strouds varied between twenty-one and twenty-three yards (HBCA B223/d/80; HBCA B223/d/115). Clues in the account books such as fractions enabled the researcher to determine stroud measurements and translate stroud pieces to yards. When stroud was listed as 16/23 piece, for example, it is evident that the stroud piece is twenty-three yards long (therefore 16/23 of a piece of stroud is sixteen yards long). When the information was unclear, twenty-two yards was used as a measurement for a stroud piece.

Wool. Analysis of the types of woolen yardgoods inventoried in New Caledonia and Fort Langley has been divided into two time periods, 1830 to 1840 and 1841 to 1850. As the 1831 records are missing, these two periods both equal ten years. This was done as there appeared to be a shift in the types and quantities of woolen yardgoods inventoried in New Caledonia and Fort Langley. Duffle is not included in this analysis because it was measured by the piece and no information on its yardage was located. The amount of duffle listed at Fort Langley is located in Appendix VI. Only three yards of duffle were listed in New Caledonia in 1837 so it was not an important fabric in this region.

Wool was plentiful in both regions but Fort Langley has almost twice as much yardage as New Caledonia (14752 yds compared to 7497 yds, 1830 to 1850). There is a difference in the types and quantities of woolen yardgoods available in New Caledonia and Fort Langley. Between 1830 and 1840 the most abundant fabric in New Caledonia was common stroud (58%) while in Fort Langley, baize was the most abundant yardgood (57%) (see Figure 6). New Caledonia listed only 5% baize while Fort Langley listed 37% common stroud. Hudson's Bay (HB) stroud was abundant in New Caledonia at 36% of total woolen yardgoods inventoried. Hudson's

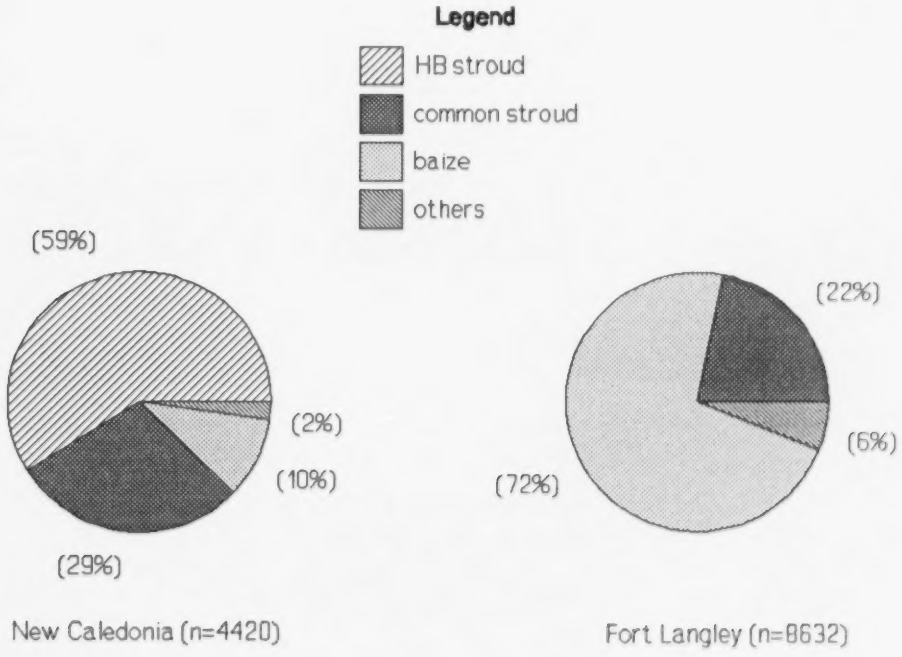
FIGURE 6
Types of woolen yardgoods inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1840.



Bay stroud was not plentiful in the Fort Langley inventories, accounting for only 6% (including HB corded stroud) of woolen yardgoods. The final one percent of wool fabric in the New Caledonia inventories consisted of second cloth and common cloth.

During the period 1841 to 1850, New Caledonia listed HB stroud as its most abundant woolen yardgoods at 59% (see Figure 7). Common stroud followed at 29%, baize at 10% and other woolen cloth made up the remaining two percent. At Fort Langley baize continued to be the main fabric from 1841 to 1850; it increased from 57% in the previous period

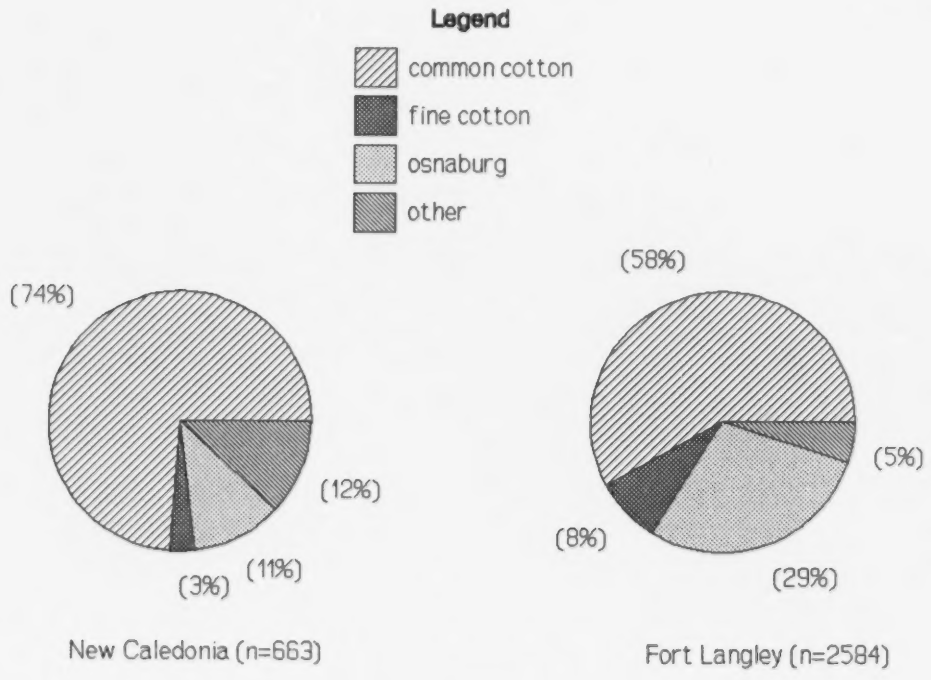
FIGURE 7
Types of woolen yardgoods inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1841 to 1850.



to 72% of total wool fabric in the second period. HB stroud was not available at Fort Langley after 1839. Common stroud continued to make up 22% of the woolen fabric inventoried at Fort Langley. The remaining 6% of wool fabric was flannel and common cloth.

According to the amount of yard goods inventoried, it appeared as though the Carrier preferred heavier wool fabric than the Coast Salish. Baize remained the most abundant material inventoried in Fort Langley while stroud was the most abundant in New Caledonia. Stroud is a heavier fabric than baize which may account for its preference among the Carrier who live in a colder climate than the Coast Salish.

FIGURE 8
Types of cotton yardgoods inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.



Woolen fabric came in a variety of colours. Stroud came in four colours: red or scarlet, blue, green, and white. Baize was either red or green. New Caledonia had scarlet second cloth. The colours of the other woolen fabrics were not available.

Cotton. Cotton fabric was listed is much smaller quantities than wool in both New Caledonia and Fort Langley. The percentages of various cotton fabrics inventoried in New Caledonia and Fort Langley from 1830 to 1850 is outlined in Figure 8. Common cotton was the most abundant fabric in both regions, totaling 73% of cotton yardgoods inventoried in New Caledonia and 58% at Fort Langley. From the calculations, 11% of cotton fabric available in New Caledonia was osnaburg. This is misleading, however, as only seventy-five yards were listed in 1841. Osnaburg was fairly abundant at Fort Langley, however, making up 29% of fabric listed; it appeared consistently over the years from 1830 to 1850. In New Caledonia the remaining fabric included 3% fine cotton and 12% other cottons. At Fort Langley, 8% of cottons are fine cotton and 5% other cottons.

It is difficult to come to any conclusions about Carrier and Coast Salish preferences of cotton based on this information. Common cotton, probably because it was inexpensive, was most abundant and consistently available in both regions. It does not appear in large quantities nor consistently in New Caledonia so cotton yardgoods were probably not as important to them as woolen fabric. Woolen fabric was more abundant than cotton at Fort Langley as well.

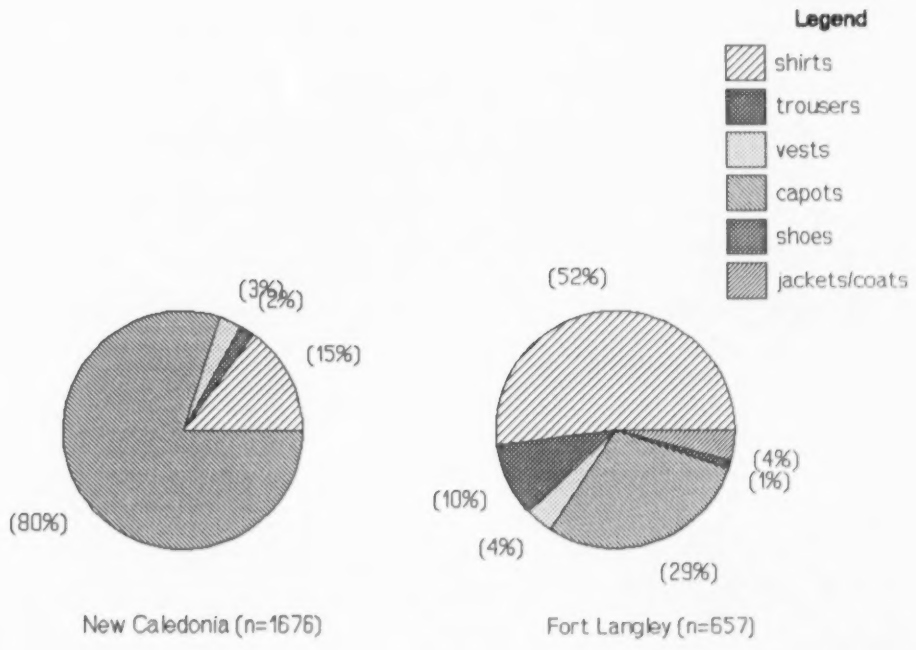
Garments

Clothing such as trousers, shirts, capots, and vests are listed each year in the New Caledonia and Fort Langley ledgers. The quantities of these items appeared to change in New Caledonia and Fort Langley from 1830 to 1850 so this time was divided into two periods. In the first period analyzed, 1830 to 1840, there is a great difference between New Caledonia and Fort Langley in the quantities of garments listed (see Figure 9). In New Caledonia, 80% of garments were capots while at Fort Langley, capots accounted for only 29% of garments inventoried. During the second period, 1841 to 1850, capots remained the most numerous article of dress in New Caledonia at 70% while at Fort Langley, capots dropped to only 5% of garments at Fort Langley (see Figure 10). Capots appeared to be a very important trade item amongst the Carrier. They are heavy, long, wool coats, usually belted at the waist. An illustration by H.J. Warre from the mid nineteenth century (Warre, 1970, plate 43) depicts Company men and Indians dressed in the style of the Hudson's Bay Company employees. It provides a good visual for capots as well trousers, shirts, belts, and hats. Capots ranged in size from one to four-and-a-half ells. An English ell measures forty-five inches (Ross, 1976). The researcher has not determined how this measurement related to the size of capots. Capots were consistently listed in New Caledonia in large numbers ranging from 100 to 300 per year. Caped capots were available between one ell and four ells. Caped capots made up 58% of all capots. Hooded capots ranged in size from three ells to four-and-one-half ells. After 1848 hooded ells from one ell to four-and-one-half ells were available. Hooded capots accounted for 25% of

capots in New Caledonia. The remaining 17% of capots were plain. Capots were described as "common cloth", "Indian cloth", "blanketing", and "second cloth". Common cloth capots were most abundant.

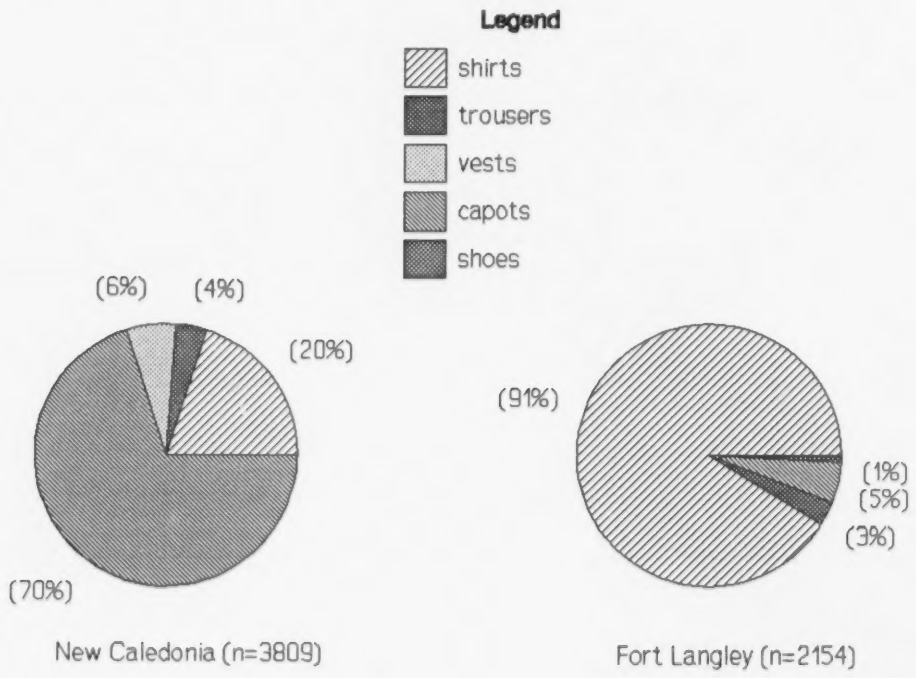
Capots were not as numerous at Fort Langley as they were in New Caledonia. The fabrics and sizes were comparable to those found in New Caledonia inventories. At Fort Langley, 47% of capots were the caped type, compared to 42% hooded and 11% plain. The lesser demand for capots among the Coast Salish is probably due to the climate and the Coast Salish use of blankets for covering.

FIGURE 9
Types of garments inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1840.



From 1830 to 1840 shirts accounted for 15% of garments inventoried in New Caledonia. This decreased somewhat in the second period to 10% (see Figures 9 & 10). In contrast, shirts accounted for a high percentage of garments inventoried in Fort Langley in both periods. From 1830 to 1840, 52% of garments were shirts; this increased in the second period to 91%. Such an enormous number of shirts inventoried in Fort Langley suggests the Coast Salish had adopted this garment into their dress. They may have also been using shirts as Potlatch gifts though no evidence of this has been located. Types of shirts

FIGURE 10
Types of garments inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1841 to 1850.



inventoried each year in New Caledonia were common striped cotton (37%), fine striped cotton (40%), and white flannel shirts (23%). At Fort Langley, most shirts were common striped cotton (67%) followed by common cotton shirts (24%) and fine striped cotton shirts (4%). The remaining five percent of shirts included yacht or rowing shirts (listed from 1847 to 1850), red serge shirts (listed in 1838 and 1839), and fine printed shirts. Bagley (1915), in charge of Fort Nisqually in Coast Salish territory commented in his journal dated September 27, 1833:

> Sagnomadum on his second visit to the shop today traded 8 large beaver at the new tariff....Fine cotton shirts are already disposed of for a beaver, but the printed are never asked for, altho' placed in a conspicuous situation of store. (p.197)

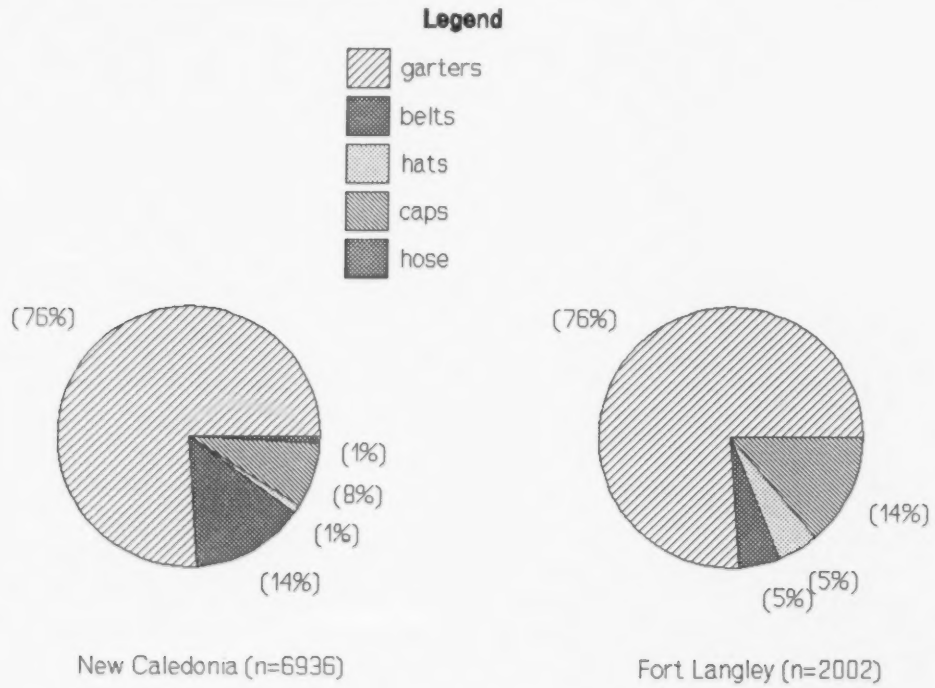
Trousers are listed in small numbers in New Caledonia and Fort Langley, anywhere between five and twenty a year. During the first period, trousers accounted for 2% of garments in New Caledonia and 10% in Fort Langley. These percentages may be misleading, however, as the differences in numbers is not that great: 34 in New Caledonia and 65 in Fort Langley. During the second period trousers increased to 4% of garments inventoried in New Caledonia. At Fort Langley, trousers decreased to 5%. Trousers were made of common cloth, drab corduroy, or olive corduroy. Common cloth trousers were most common in New Caledonia (60%) and Fort Langley (90%).

Vests were listed in Fort Langley inventories from 1832 to 1836 and again from 1844 to 1845. The total number of vest listed between 1830 and 1850 was a mere forty-six. Vests accounted for 4% of garments inventoried at Fort Langley from 1830 to 1840 and less than 1% from 1841 to 1850. Vests were more abundant in New Caledonia yet were also listed

in small numbers, between one and thirteen from 1830 to 1840 (3% of garments) and ten to thirty-seven from 1841 to 1850 (6% of garments). Vests were made of swansdown, second cloth, and common cloth. At Fort Langley, vests made of toilinet and valencia were listed in the early 1830's.

Garments were purchased by the Coast Salish but were also reserved for gift-giving by the Hudson's Bay Company. Gift-giving was common practice at many fur trade posts and was used to entice Indians to trade (Ray, 1974; Ray & Freeman, 1978; Rich, 1960). Bagley (1915) "gave

FIGURE 11
Types of secondary garments inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.



Chihlucum the Soquamis chief a capot and pair of trowsers as a reward for his services and general good conduct" (pp.188-189). The jackets and coats listed at Fort Langley may have been used as gifts as they were few and listed only until 1840.

Other items included in the garment category (called here for convenience, secondary garments) are belts, garters, caps, hats and hose (see Figure 11). New Caledonia listed three times as many of these items than did Fort Langley (6936 compared to 2002). In New Caledonia and Fort Langley 76% of secondary garments are garters. These garters were mostly "Highland garters" with smaller numbers of plain and scarlet striped garters listed in both places. Garters were probably used for leggings by both Carrier and Coast Salish though no example of this was located.

Belts brought to Fort Langley and Fort St. James were the worsted type, which tied around the waist. They were most often red or scarlet and came in three sizes: broad, narrow, and "middling". Coloured belts were available in narrow only. Belts made up 14% of secondary garment items in New Caledonia though only 4.5% in Fort Langley. The number of belts inventoried in New Caledonia may relate to the quantity of capots as they were commonly worn with capots (Ross, 1976).

Caps and hats were wool and most commonly grey, with a few scarlet caps listed. After 1841 there were increasing numbers of Scotch Bonnets listed in the New Caledonia inventories. These are also available at Fort Langley but in small quantities. Caps made up 14% of secondary garments inventoried at Fort Langley compared to 8% in New Caledonia. These percentages may be misleading, however, as over the twenty year

period studied, New Caledonia listed 597 caps compared to 276 at Fort Langley.

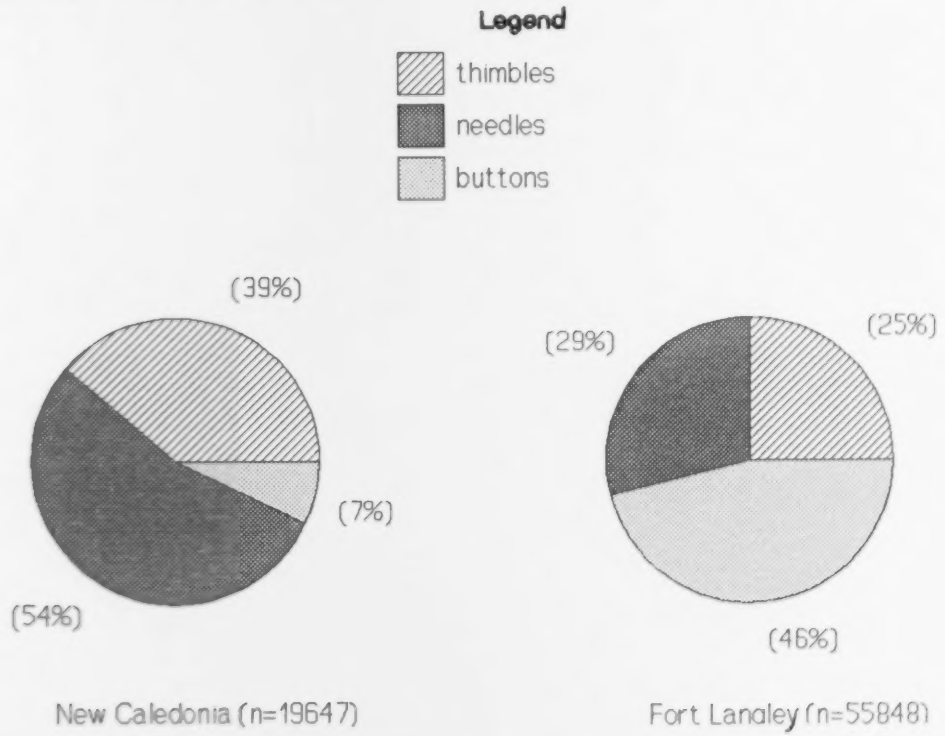
Other items in this category included hose and shawls. Shawls were listed only in New Caledonia. They were few in number, one to three listed between 1839 and 1844. In 1845, twenty shawls were found in the New Caledonia inventory. Fort Langley inventoried hose in 1848 (two pair) and in 1850 (five pair). In New Caledonia, hose was listed in quantities ranging from one to three pair each year from 1838 to 1845. Six pair were listed in 1847. Hose and shawls do not appear to have been important clothing articles amongst either the Carrier or Coast Salish.

The inventories from New Caledonia and Fort Langley reveal that ready-made garments were more numerous in New Caledonia than Fort Langley, other than shirts. Capots dominated as the primary garment among the Carrier. In New Caledonia, it appears as though numbers of items are more consistent from year to year, without the huge fluctuations seen at Fort Langley. The Carrier may have been more conservative than the Coast Salish as consumers, wanting the same sorts of articles each year.

Sewing Notions

The total numbers of thimbles, needles, and buttons differ tremendously between New Caledonia and Fort Langley, with Fort Langley listing as much as three times the quantity as New Caledonia (see Figure 12). The majority of merchandise in this category at Fort Langley was buttons, being 46% of the total amount of sewing notions. This compares to buttons equalling only 7% of sewing notions in New Caledonia. Such large numbers of buttons among the Coast Salish suggest that buttons were being used for purposes other than for garment closures. No

FIGURE 12
Sewing notions inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.



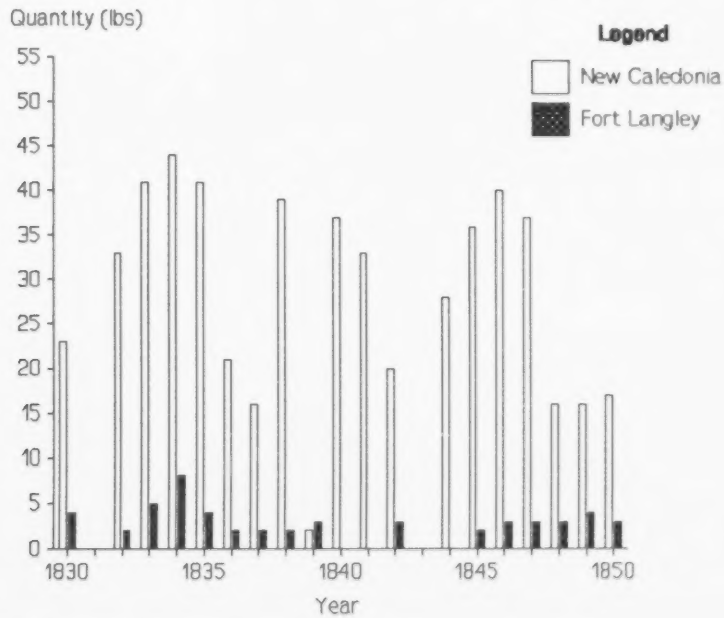
evidence of their use in adornment, such as the production of button blankets, was found. As they were metal buttons, they may have been used as tinklers; they could be attached loosely to garments so that they rattled together when the wearer moved. Button types listed in New Caledonia included yellow metal buttons (43%), gilt vest buttons (6%), metal coat buttons (44%), and metal vest buttons (7%). At Fort Langley, plated ball vest buttons made up 43% of buttons inventoried, followed by metal coat buttons (37%); other buttons such as gilt ball vest buttons, jacket buttons, and coat buttons accounted for the remaining 20%.

Brass thimbles were listed in large quantities at Fort Langley with numbers as high as 2280 (in 1840) and 2880 (in 1841). Thimbles made up 25% of sewing notions at Fort Langley. They accounted for 39% of sewing notions in New Caledonia. Thimbles listed in New Caledonia were also brass though after 1849, they were described as "steel tip" thimbles. As thimbles were inventoried in large numbers in both places, they may have been used by the Carrier and Coast Salish for both sewing and perhaps tinklers. No evidence of their use as tinklers was located.

Needles and thread were listed in higher quantities in New Caledonia than at Fort Langley. At Fort Langley, darning needles were the most abundant type available, making up 74% of needles. In New Caledonia, 41% of needles were darning needles whereas common thread needles accounted for the remaining 59%. The large size of darning needles may have been better suited to the types of sewing carried out by Coast Salish. Their own traditional needles were made of bone and were quite large (Burley, 1980).

Thread was consistently listed in New Caledonia inventories in quantities varying between twenty and forty pounds per year (see Figure 13). This contrasted sharply with the amount of thread listed at Fort Langley which ranged between two to four pounds annually. Thread was either coloured, black, or "White Brothers", probably a trade name. A greater quantity of thread in New Caledonia suggests more sewing with store-bought thread was done by the Carrier than among the Coast Salish. This conclusion is supported by the presence of tailors or "women's" scissors in the New Caledonia inventories; they were not listed at Fort Langley. In New Caledonia scissors were listed in quantities as low as two in 1842 to as high as 99 in 1846.

FIGURE 13
Amount of thread inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.



Adornment

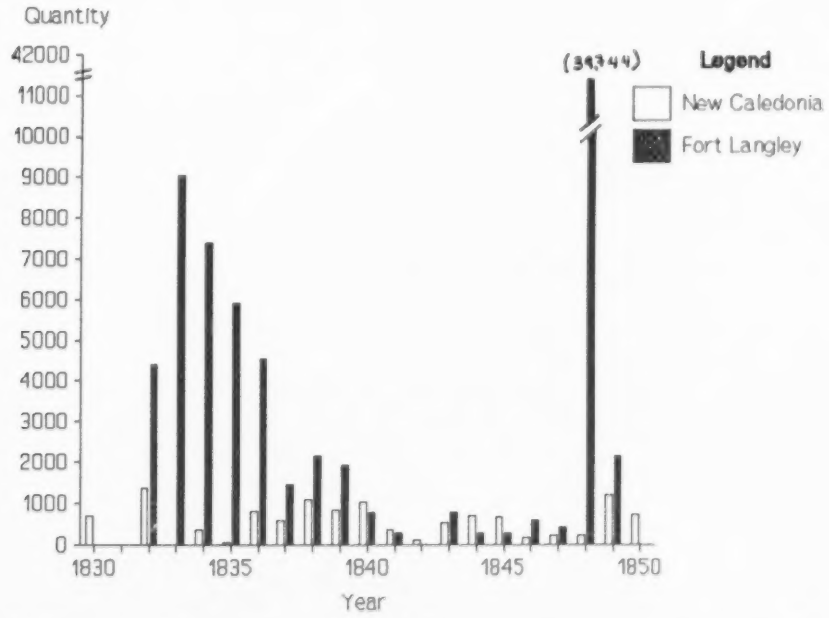
The Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Langley imported merchandise to various posts which it hoped would be used by Indians for adornment or their own gift-giving. These included beads, rings, bells, and feathers. In some instances, these items were given away as "perks" for trading with the Hudson's Bay Company but they were also traded. McDonald (1927) notes in his Fort Langley journal that on August 5, 1827, he traded berries from women for "rings, buttons, etc.". Beads came in a variety of colours and types. From 1830 to 1837 at Fort Langley, Canton beads along with aquamarine, ruby, and sky blue beads were available. These were imported in large quantities, with as much as 233 pounds (in 1832) and 200 pounds (in 1833) listed in the inventories. After 1838, there is a greater variety of beads listed but the quantities were greatly reduced. Varieties included white enamel beads, barley corn beads, white, green, blue, and opal cut glass beads, as well as dark and light blue China beads. Canton beads are not listed after 1837. In New Caledonia beads are consistently listed after 1835 in small quantities of seven to twenty pounds. Colours available were white, green, and blue. Mackenzie (Lamb, 1970) stated that the Carrier preferred beads "to any other article in my possession" (p.382). Harmon (1911) also notes that the Carrier are "remarkably fond of beads (p.247) (see Appendix VI for more detail on quantities of beads inventoried in New Caledonia and Fort Langley).

Both plain brass and stoned or ornamented brass rings appear consistently in the New Caledonia inventories (see Figure 14). Fort Langley listed only plain brass rings other than in 1843 when 540 stoned

brass rings were included in the inventory. Rings were listed much greater quantities in Fort Langley than New Caledonia.

Feathers were consistently inventoried in New Caledonia between 1830 and 1850 (see Figure 15). There appeared to be a steady rise in the numbers of feathers from 1830 to 1841. During the 1840's the numbers of feathers fluctuated. Feathers available in New Caledonia were coloured cock feathers and foxtail feathers. Only coloured cock feathers were listed in Fort Langley inventories from 1830 to 1837. Bagley (1915) noted the use of feathers by Coast Salish Indians as adornment. In 1837 he remarked when the outfit from Fort Vancouver arrived short of goods: "the total absence of clothing, hats and

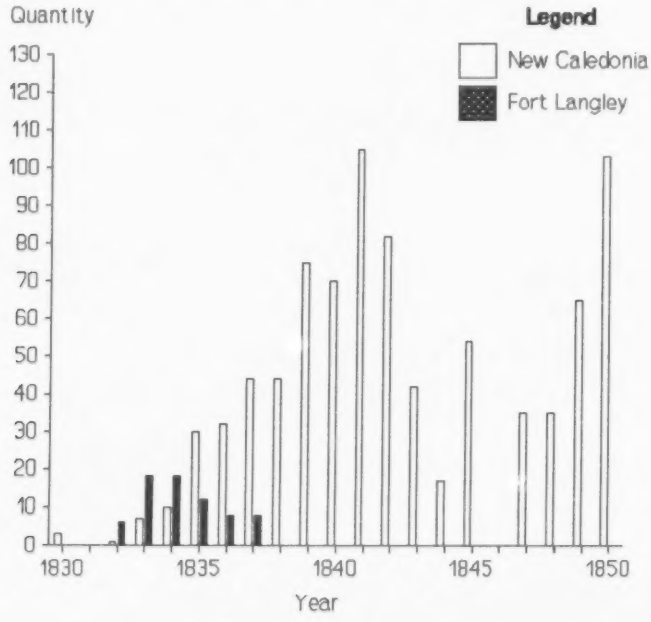
FIGURE 14
Number of rings (plain brass and ornamented) inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.



feathers for the Chiefs is to them an unaccountable omission" (p.187). They were imported to Fort Langley in small quantities; either few Indians were interested in purchasing them or they were reserved for gift giving on the part of the traders.

Hawk bells were listed in large quantities in the Fort Langley inventories from 1840 to 1843. No information on their use could be located. They may have been used on dance costumes or on things such as rattles but examination of exhibit catalogues featuring Coast Salish artifacts did not provide evidence of their use (Coe, 1976; Holm, 1987; Holm & Vaughn, 1982; Johnson & Bernick 1986; Wardell, 1978). Few bells were listed in New Caledonia (see Appendix VI).

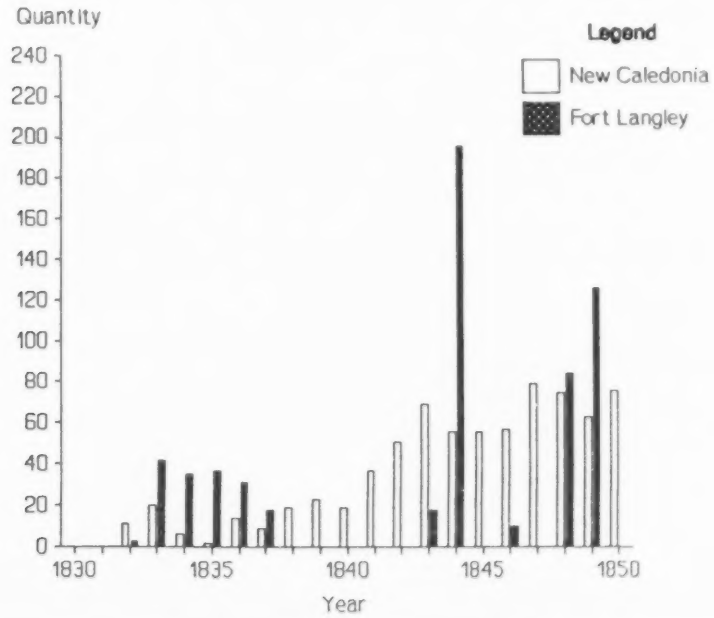
FIGURE 15
Number of feathers inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.



Miscellaneous Items

Handkerchiefs, vermilion, combs and looking glasses are goods which relate to clothing but their use is not certain. Handkerchiefs may have been used in their traditional manner to blow one's nose, or they may have been used as scarves. As many of those sold were inventoried as large and were of both cotton and silk, some may have been used for clothing (see Figure 16). McKinnon (1992) found that handkerchiefs sold at Red River Settlement were used to carry small purchases such as tea or tobacco from the store. In New Caledonia, the numbers of handkerchiefs increased during the period studied, with numbers going from fifteen to twenty annually in the 1830's to

FIGURE 16
Number of handkerchiefs inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.

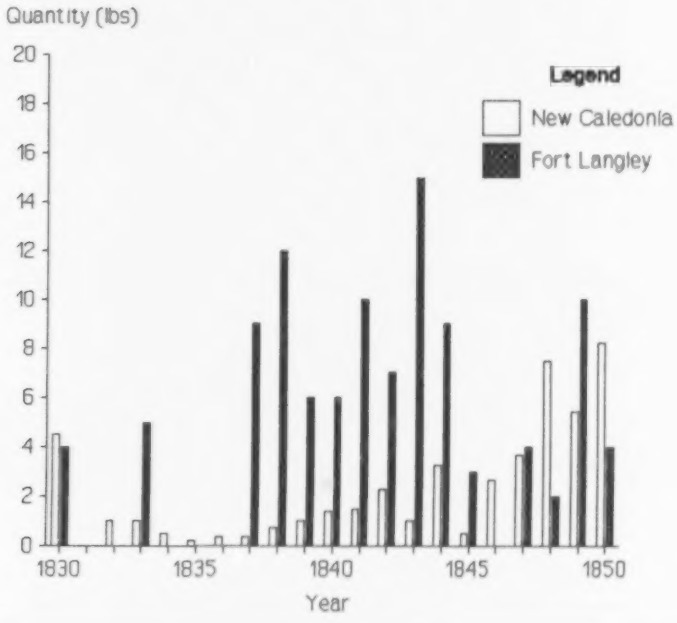


quantities ranging from 17 to 79 in the 1840's. The quantities of handkerchiefs listed in Fort Langley do not reveal any trend.

Vermillion, a red pigment, was used either for decorating the body or to paint art works. It was consistently imported for trade to Fort Langley and Fort St. James from 1830 to 1850 (see Figure 17). Harmon (1911) stated that young Carrier men and women

> who feel more solicitous to make themselves agreeable to each other, wash and paint their faces, and let their hair grow long. The paint which they make use of, consists of vermilion, which they occasionally obtain from us; or more commonly, of a red stone, pounded fine, of which there are two kinds. The powder of one kind of these stones, mixed with grease, and rubbed upon their faces, gives them a glittering appearance. (pp.245-246)

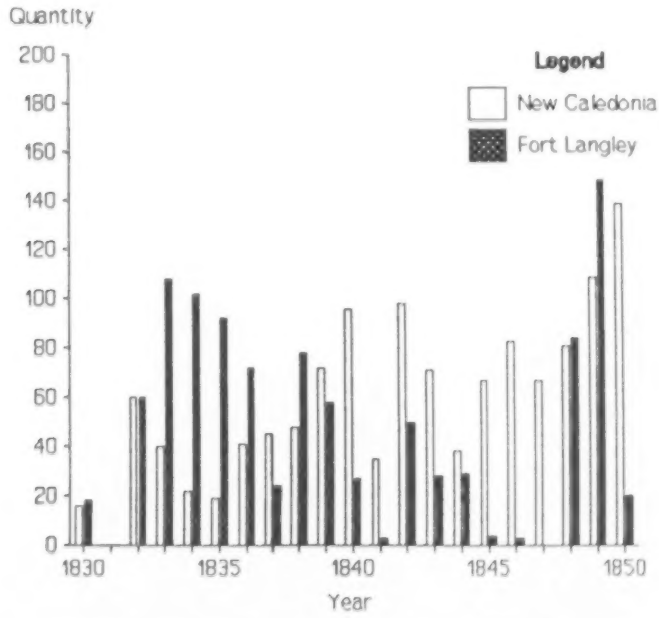
FIGURE 17
Amount of vermilion inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.



Quantities of vermilion listed in New Caledonia increased fairly steadily from 1837 to 1850. The greatest quantities of vermillion listed at Fort Langley was between 1837 to 1844 when nine to fifteen pounds were recorded. Vermilion appears to have been an important commodity for both the Carrier and Coast Salish as it is listed almost every year. Amount of vermilion listed each year is greater at Fort Langley than in New Caledonia.

Items which relate to grooming include looking glasses and combs. Combs sold at Fort Langley and Fort St. James were those intended for grooming rather than hair ornament. Combs were made of ivory or horn. There were both large and small sized combs as well as "dandriff" combs.

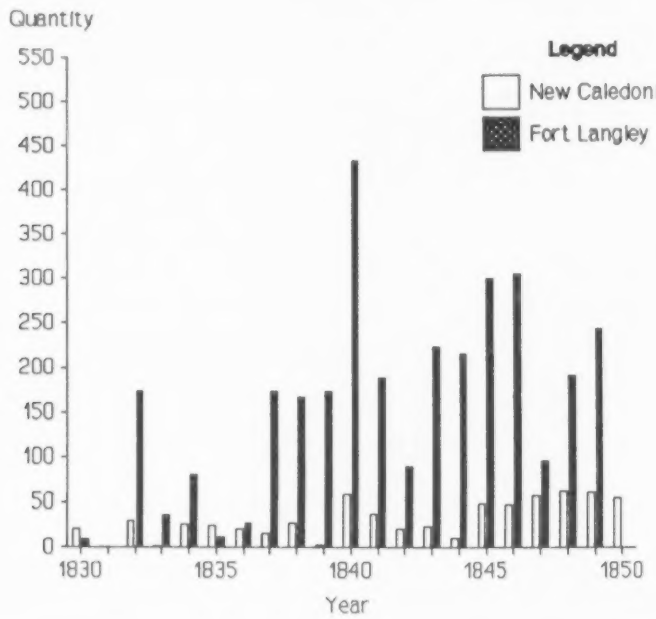
FIGURE 18
Number of combs inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.



Combs were popular throughout the fur trade period (Hanson, 1985). They appear consistently during the time period studied though their numbers fluctuate at both posts (see Figure 18). In some years, New Caledonia listed more combs than did Fort Langley and vise versa. No conclusions to this situation were made.

Looking glasses were imported in larger quantities at Fort Langley than at Fort St. James (see Figure 19). Three types were listed in the Fort Langley inventories: paper case, metal framed, and wood framed. Paper case looking glasses are the only sort available at Fort Langley until 1845 and they are not listed after 1847. New Caledonia inventories list metal framed looking glasses consistently from 1841 and paper case looking glasses throughout the period studied.

FIGURE 19
Number of looking glasses inventoried in New Caledonia compared to Fort Langley, 1830 to 1850.



Response to trade goods.

Examination of the Hudson's Bay Company account ledgers has aided in meeting objectives one and five; these were to identify European clothing influences on the Carrier and Coast Salish from 1830 to 1850 and to determine their response to them. The Carrier and Coast Salish appeared to respond favorably to the presence of European garments and dress goods available for trade at Fort St. James and Fort Langley. Both groups traded enormous quantities of furs, salmon, and labour to obtain this merchandise. Garments and dress goods comprised the majority of goods for sale at Fort St. James and Fort Langley. The types of dress goods available to each groups was similar but the quantities in which they appeared in the inventories were different.

The Carrier appeared more consistent in their purchasing as quantities and types of goods inventoried in New Caledonia remained fairly constant from 1830 to 1850. Items which appeared in large quantities included blankets, capots, shirts, woolen dry goods, belts, and garters. Sewing notions such as thread, thimbles, needles, and buttons were also abundantly available. Some items regularly inventoried in small numbers included feathers, beads, vermilion, handkerchiefs, caps, and rings. There was a slight increase in quantities of shirts, trousers, handkerchiefs, vermilion, and combs listed during the time studied but the numbers did not rise steadily. There were still some fluctuations in numbers. Capots, needles, thread, garters, belts, woolen cloth, and blankets remained constant from 1830 to 1850. Garments and fabric imported by the Hudson's Bay Company were well suited to the climate of Carrier territory as they consisted

primarily of wool. If the Carrier replaced their traditional clothing with European garments and cloth, they would require these supplies from year to year. This would account for the consistency in quantities of some dress goods observed each year in the New Caledonia inventories.

At Fort Langley, there was a greater occurrence of items appearing in large numbers for a few years and then disappearing. This suggests a more inconsistent market. Some items, such as beads, feathers, and bells, were introduced at Fort Langley were purchased in large quantities for short periods of time. Then the Company apparently ceased to import these items or greatly reduced their numbers. This situation is similar to that which Hammell (1986) observed in his discussion of Coast Indians' response to European trade goods. He suggested that Coastal groups traded for new merchandise in large quantities until the market was saturated or the novelty wore off.

Three items which appeared important to the Coast Salish were blankets, woolen yardgoods, and shirts. Blankets were listed in great quantities which suggests the Coast Salish were replacing their traditional blankets with the English ones. They may have been using wool fabric for this purpose as well. Of the limited number of ready-made garments listed at Fort Langley, shirts were found in the greatest quantity. Other items which were consistently available in large numbers to the Coast Salish were garters, rings, and buttons. Items available in small quantities included thread, cotton yardgoods, trousers, vests, capots, caps, and vermilion. Fort Langley inventoried many buttons, thimbles, and needles but small amounts of thread. This

suggest they were not sewing garments, but rather using these things for decorating costumes or other ceremonial objects.

What is evident from the comparison between New Caledonia and Fort Langley inventories is that the Hudson's Bay Company responded to the Indian's desire for certain goods. The inventoried included different quantities of goods and often different types of merchandise (such as the different types of wool fabric in New Caledonia and Fort Langley). The influences of European dress on Carrier and Coast Salish dress differed as their trading posts stocked different quantities of goods. These differences were no doubt due to the Indians' own demands for certain articles, rather than Hudson's Bay Company decisions.

Ethnographic and Primary Sources on Dress

The second objective of this thesis research was to identify temporal variations in Carrier and Coast Salish clothing during the protocontact and early fur trade period up to 1850. This was achieved through an examination of a variety of sources; journals written by fur traders, travellers, and explorers provided most of the information. Sources such as extant garments, informants, legends, and illustrations also provided some insight into Carrier and Coast Salish dress. Ethnographic information on Carrier and Coast Salish dress is presented separately from primary sources because much of this information was obtained by ethnographers well after 1850. Ethnographic information on Carrier and Coast Salish dress provides an interesting comparison to contemporaneous descriptions of dress.

Identifying temporal variations in Carrier and Coast Salish dress will aid in meeting the third and fourth objectives of this thesis. The third objective is to compare the rate and level of adaptation to European dress by Carrier and Coast Salish from 1830 to 1850. The Hudson's Bay Company account ledgers have already revealed that Carrier and Coast Salish are purchasing large quantities of European garments and dress goods. How these products were incorporated into traditional dress is revealed in personal accounts of Native dress during the first half of the nineteenth century. The fourth objective is to determine whether traditional aboriginal dress style and clothing production of Carrier and Coast Salish affected their adoption of European manufactured clothing and dress goods. This brings into question

factors such as Carrier and Coast Salish aesthetics, technical ability, economy, comparability, and relative advantage.

Carrier Dress to 1850

Carrier dress will be described and discussed in this section. To date, no research has been located which documents the change of the Carrier from their native costume to that of the Euro-Canadians who occupied the fur trade posts. Nak'azdli Carrier did purchase clothing and dress goods from the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort St. James. No research has been conducted to determine to what extent and how rapidly Carrier adopted European garb after the establishment of the post in 1806. The missionary presence had a much greater impact on the Indians than did the fur trader and brought rapid change to their culture (Fisher, 1977, 1981). Perhaps significant change in dress style did not occur until after the missionary arrival in the 1850's. By first addressing how ethnographers have defined traditional Carrier dress and comparing that to descriptions by travellers who first contacted the Carriers, an accurate image of Carrier dress should appear.

Ethnographic sources. Most ethnographic information on Carrier dress comes from Morice (1894). Living in the northern interior where winter can be harsh, much of Carrier dress consisted of fitted tanned animal skin garments. Caribou was the largest animal available to the Carrier in precontact times though they did trade for moose hides from their Sekani neighbours. Skins were brain tanned and pieced together to make constructed garments. There is no evidence that Carriers produced

any woven fabrics from animal hair or plant fibers. When discussing the finds during the excavation of Chinlac,[5] Borden (1952) writes, "the importance of dressing and tanning skins for clothing and other purposes is indicated by the great frequency of scrapers" (p.33). Scrapers were made of the shoulder bones of both caribou and bear. Morice (1894) witnessed the Carrier at Fort St. James using bone scrapers in the 1890's.

Borden (1952) noted the lack of personal adornment objects found at Chinlac. Whereas almost ninety percent of the objects excavated at a coast site in Washington state were related to ornamentation, only about one percent of the artifacts from Chinlac fit into this category. This may be due to the type of material used by Carriers for ornamentation. Porcupine quills and ochre were commonly used (Morice, 1894) and they, like the garments they decorated, disintegrated over time.

Morice (1894) describes the aboriginal costume of the Carrier. In summer men either went naked or wore a "breech piece", a tunic, moccasins, and leggings. The tunic was a "loose vestment comparable to a shirt, usually of cariboo [sic] descending to the thigh....[the tunic had] no tail appendage as that of the eastern Denes" (p.163). Wealthy Carriers decorated their tunics with fringe to hide the seams. Porcupine quills dyed yellow or green were used to decorate garments. Morice (1894) claims that leggings and moccasins were still common elements of Carrier dress in the 1890's and that "even the most advanced young men profess to be unable to walk any considerable distance with

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[5]Chinlac was a Carrier community situated at the confluence of the Stuart and Nechako Rivers. It is the site of a massacre of Carrier by the Chilcotin and was abandoned in the late eighteenth century (Morice, 1905).

our common leather shoes" (p.163). According to one Carrier elder, sturgeon and salmon skins were commonly used for footwear as well (N. Prince, personal communication, March 18, 1991).

Carrier women wore a tunic similar to that worn by men. It was longer and more often ornamented around the shoulders and back. Along with porcupine quill, caribou teeth and beaver claws or teeth were sewn on the garment. They also wore leggings. In cold weather, a blanket was draped over the shoulders and held in place by a "girdle" around the waist (Morice, 1894). In winter, mittens and hats were worn by both sexes.

There were special garments for special purposes, such as a pubescent girl's seclusion, a *deneza*'s ceremonial outfit, Potlatch garments, and hunting garments. These types of garments were collected in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century by ethnographers such as Morice, and Diamond Jenness. Examples exist in the Royal British Columbia Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

While Morice (1894) acknowledges the persistence of some garments among the Carrier such as moccasins and leggings, he says that "with the advent of the whites the dress of the western Dene gradually changed until it became, what is now, practically that of the Hudson's Bay Company's people" (p.165).

Boudreau's (1974) description of Athapaskan clothing is similar to that of Morice. He concurs with Morice that Athapaskan clothing changed with the arrival of European garments. He stated that:

> Contact brought an elaboration in ornamentation and change in the cut of clothing, as well as the addition of many

> other items, such as cartridge belts. Most groups began to fashion their clothing in the European manner, with front closings and shorter jackets, and they added epaulettes, bangles fashioned from bits of metal, and buttons. New materials included velvets, satin and ribbon. Garters, gloves, belts, suspenders, tumplines and other objects were heavily beaded with the newly acquired trade beads, frequently in floral motifs instead of the early geometrics. Some Athapaskans, especially those who trapped and lived close to forts, immediately began to wear European clothing obtained through trade. (p.28)

The Carrier did not embroider with beads as did other Athapaskan groups (Duncan, 1982). Instead, they fashioned beads into strings worn about the neck, ankles, and wrists and in the hair. Mrs. Bernadette Rosetti, a Nak'azdli elder states that Carrier women did not take up beading on garments until the twentieth century when non-Native settlers created a demand for such items (personal communications, March 31, 1991).

Primary sources. Alexander Mackenzie during his journey to the Pacific in 1793 had Carrier guides. He provides some insight into aboriginal Carrier dress but his descriptions are meager. The Carrier he met already had some European trade goods among them but dressed primarily in clothing made of pieced beaver skins. Mackenzie described some of the Carrier people and noted the types of furs available to them:

> The hair of the women was tied in large loose knots over the ears, and plaited with great neatness from the division of the head, so as to be included in the knots. Some of them had adorned their tresses with beads, with a very pretty effect. The men were clothed in leather, their hair was nicely combed, and their complexion was fairer, or perhaps it may be said, with more propriety, that they were more cleanly, than any of the natives whom we had yet seen.... Every man, woman, and child, carried a proportionate burden, consisting of beaver coating and parchment, as well as skins of the otter, the marten, the bear, the lynx, and dressed moose-skins. The last they procure from the Rocky-Mountain

> Indians. According to their account, the people of the sea coast prefer them to any other article. Several of their relations and friends, they said, were already gone, as well provided as themselves, to barter with the people of the coast; who barter them in their turn, except the dressed leather, with white people who as they had been informed, arrive there in large canoes. (Lamb, 1970, p.355)

Mackenzie provided a more detailed description of the Sekani which is worth presenting here as he states that the Carrier "differ very little, if at all, either in their appearance, language, or manners, from the (Sekani)" (p.316). Of the Sekani he says:

> Their dress consists of robes made of the skins of the beaver, the ground hog, and the rein-deer, dressed in the hair, and of the moose-skin without it. All of them are ornamented with a fringe, while some of them have tassels hanging down the seams; those of the ground hog are decorated on the fur side with the tails of the animals which they do not separate from them. Their garments they tie over the shoulders, and fasten them round the middle with a belt of green skin, which is as stiff as horn. Their leggins [sic] are long, and, if they were topped with a waistband, might be called trowsers: they, as well as their shoes, are made of dressed moose, elk, or rein-deer skin. The organs of generation they leave uncovered. The women differ little in their dress from the men, except in the addition of an apron, which is fastened round the waist and hangs down to the knees. They are in general of a more lusty make that the other sex, and taller in proportion...They have also a few white beads, which they get where they procure their iron: they are from a line to an inch in length, and are worn in their ears, but are not of European manufacture. These, with bracelets made of horn and bone, compose all the ornaments which decorate their persons. Necklaces of the grisley [sic] or white bear's claws, are worn exclusively by the men. (Lamb, 1970, p.290)

The Carrier were not only obtaining European trade goods from the Indians of the Pacific coast, they also continued trading for items manufactured by coast Indians. Of a group of Carriers he met travelling to the coast he states:

> It occupied them, they said, no more than six nights, to go to where they meet the people who barter iron, brass, copper, beads, etc. with them, for dressed leather, and

> beaver, bear, lynx, fox and marten skins...The copper and brass they convert into collars, arm-bands, bracelets, and other ornaments. (Lamb, 1970, p.320)

Simon Fraser visited Carrier territory when establishing trading posts for the Northwest Company from 1805 to 1808. His descriptions of Carrier dress are few. Like Mackenzie, Fraser notes that Carrier dress consisted primarily of beaver skin clothing. He also noted the presence of European trade goods among them.

> But it not being the salmon time, we saw none of the Natives until the Forks [of the Nechako and the Stuart rivers], better than half way up, where we saw about 30 men, who had Beaver Cat and Badger Robes for covering - and a couple had blankets of Cloth. (Lamb, 1960, p.231)

Daniel Harmon (1911) provided descriptions of Carrier dress soon after the establishment of Fort St. James. He summarized their traditional dress while acknowledging their adoption of European dress available through the fur traders.

> Their clothing consists of a covering made of the skins of the beaver, badger, muskrat, cat or hare. The last they cut into strips, about one inch broad, and then weave or lace them together, until they become of a sufficient size to cover their bodies, and to reach to their knees. This garment they put over their shoulders, and tie about their waists. Instead of the above names skins, when they can obtain them, they greatly prefer, and make use of blankets, capots, or Canadian coats, cloth or moose and red deer skin. They seldom use either leggins [sic] or shoes in the summer. As this season the men often go naked, without any thing to cover even that part of the body which civilized, and the most, even of savage people, think it necessary to conceal. Indeed they manifest as little sense of shame in regard to this subject, as the very brute creation. The women, however, in addition to the robe of beaver or dressed moose skins, wear an apron, twelve to eighteen inches broad, which reaches down to their knees. These aprons are made of a piece of deer skin, or of salmon skins sewn together. Of the skin of this fish, they sometimes make leggins [sic], shoes, bags, etc. but they are not durable; and therefore they prefer deer skins and cloth, which are more pliable and soft. (pp.243-244)

Harmon's reference to the Carrier's use of capots and blankets is supported by the large numbers of these inventoried in New Caledonia from 1830 to 1850. The Hudson's Bay Company were also importing large numbers of moose hides for trade with the Carrier. Harmon (1911) stated that the "young women and girls wear a parcel of European beads, strung together, and tied to a lock of hair, directly behind each ear" (p.246). Harmon provides some anecdotal details about breech cloths worn by Carrier men:

> A few of the male Carriers recently make use of the breech-cloth, made of cloth which they procure from us; but as evidence that no great sense of delicacy has induced them to wear it, you will see it one day at its proper place, the next, probably, about their heads, and the third around their necks; and so one, repeatedly shifted from one place to another. (pp.244-245)

Evidently breech clothes were one of the garments made by Carriers with fabric purchased at Fort St. James.

An incident described by Peter Skeene Ogden (1853) during his stay in New Caledonia in the 1830's tells us of some Carriers who dressed in European garb to impress him:

> Accustomed as I had been to the extravagancies [sic] of an Indian toilet, I was scarcely prepared to witness such grotesque refinement as I found displayed by the beauz [sic] of Hotset, whether they strutted up in gaudy shreds of worn-down finery combined together in the most indescribable confusion of lines and forms, or, less diffuse in their tastes, paced soberly forwards in suits, or half-suits, of shabby genteel vestments which might have graced the purlieus of Monmouth-street. One grim-looking fellow stood eminently conspicuous in a scarlet coat, unaccompanied by that nether appendage which a delicate spectator might have deemed necessary to decorum; while another, his nearest neighbour, rejoiced in a regimental coat of the Sapper's and Miner's, and the very decorous adjunct of a half-worn pair of corduroy trowsers! The whole of these fineries, I must add, by the way, had evidently been assumed for the occasion, as one of great state, and it seemed only

> charitable to ascribe the little discrepancies I have mentioned to the hurry of their toilet. (p.91)

This anecdote suggests that the Carrier whom Ogden met still wore much of their traditional clothing; the few European garments they owned were preserved for certain occasions. These Carrier did not have a trading post immediately within their territory; the closest post would have been Fort Babine on Babine Lake.

Carrier garments held in the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the Royal British Columbia Museum date from the early twentieth century. Most items, leggings, trousers, gloves, moccasins, vests, jackets, and cloaks, are made of moose hide. One cloth jacket collected by Diamond Jenness in 1924 at Fort Fraser is described by him as a "decadent example of what may well be a traditional form" (CMC, artifact VI-B-1). It appears that his reference to decadent is aimed at the fact that fabric, instead of animal hide, was used in its construction. Much of what has been collected contains some fabric, either as lining or contrast applique. This is not surprising considering that Carriers have had access to European fabric since the early nineteenth century and that fabric, especially wool, was inventoried in large quantities in New Caledonia.

Summary. Carrier dress at the time of contact was similar to that of other subarctic bands. They wore fitted garments made of tanned animal hides, primarily beaver and caribou skins. These garments included a tunic, leggings, moccasins, and robes. Decoration was minimal, usually of porcupine quill, fringes, or ochre. The main factor influencing dress would have been the climate; winters can be quite

severe in this region so warm, well-fitting clothes are necessary. The absence of moose in Carrier territory meant that they had to use other animals or obtain moose hides from the Sekani. There did not appear to be a separate summer wardrobe. The amount of clothing worn was simply reduced in warm weather.

After the arrival of fur trade companies, first the North West Company and then the Hudson's Bay Company, Carrier adopted much of the European style of dress. Blankets and capots would have made good replacements for animal hides for keeping the body warm in winter. The Carrier did not completely emulate the European and Euro-Canadian fur traders in style of dress. They continued to wear leggings, breech cloths, and moccasins. Women's and children's clothing had to be made by the Natives so would not have followed European styles as closely as if they were constructed in European factories. The fact that the Hudson's Bay Company imported large numbers of moose hides for sale at Fort St. James suggests continued production of traditional Native garments. These would have been the leather jerkins worn for hunting and moccasins.

By the time photography became widespread in Carrier territory in the 1880's, almost all Carrier people were dressed like Euro-Canadians. Men were completely clothed in European style garments. The only remnants of their traditional dress was moccasins. Carrier women did not appear to follow fashionable dress but rather adopted a simple skirt and blouse combination which changed little from the 1880's to the early nineteenth century. Once settlers arrived in the Fort St. James area in the 1920's, Carrier women followed Euro-Canadian fashions more closely.

Reaction to European dress goods. Written descriptions of Carrier dress reveal that Carriers tended to adopt the European style of dress quite readily. They were noted to have adopted European dress as early as 1820 (Harmon, 1911). The Hudson's Bay Company account books for New Caledonia record large numbers of shirts and capots in the inventories from 1830 to 1850. There were also limited numbers of trousers, vests, belts, caps, and garters listed consistently from 1830 to 1850 which points to a market demand by the Carrier for these items. As only ready-made men's clothing was available, the large quantities of woolen fabric along with scissors, needles, and thread inventoried in New Caledonia point to garment production on the part of Carrier women.

It appears that traditional dress style and clothing production of the Carrier affected their adaptation to European dress. Traditional Carrier dress did not differ greatly from European dress; it was fitted and constructed by sewing pieces together. A Carrier tunic did not differ much from a European shirt or capot. Leggings and breech cloths served the same function as trousers. The Carrier were accustomed to fitted clothing and woollen garments imported by the Hudson's Bay Company helped protect them from the cold. Another important factor to consider is that Carriers were trading furs for goods, the same furs which they previously used for clothing production. These furs and skins were replaced by garments and dress goods obtained through trade. The quantities of fabric, thread, and needles imported to New Caledonia supports the conclusion that Carriers were sewing much of their clothing by 1850.

Coast Salish Dress to 1850

As with the Carrier, discussions of findings on Coast Salish dress is divided into information obtained from ethnographic sources and primary sources. From the base information supplied by these sources, details on dress during the protohistoric and fur trade periods from primary sources will be examined. This will help determine the accuracy of ethnographical accounts of dress and reveal temporal variations of Coast Salish dress from the time of contact to 1850.

Ethnographic Information. Barnett (1955) relied on informants living in the 1940's and 50's for his descriptions of Coast Salish dress. According to Barnett, traditional men's dress was quite simple. In summer men went without clothing; at the most they wore a blanket thrown over their shoulders. Garments for cooler weather included a robe which reached the lower leg. It was often belted at the waist and fastened with wood, bone, or copper pins. Capes or ponchos were worn in the rain; these were normally woven from cedar bark which produced a flaxen like finish which helped shed water. According to the informants, men also wore shirts and trousers similar to European garments though the material used was not given. Skins with fur intact were worn in winter, usually as simple wraps. Skin moccasins and m[illegible]ens were worn in winter but only by Coast Salish living on the mainland.

Women wore a knee-length shirt woven in one piece and sewn together at the sides. It was tied at the waist with a belt. This garment was most commonly made of cedar bark but also of wool procured

from mountain goats. A fur robe which fastened in the front was worn in winter along with moccasins like the men. Hill-Tout (1905) says that women also wore leggings and decorated their gowns with shell and fringes.

By far, the most common garment was the blanket which was worn over the shoulders and wrapped around the body. Several illustrations of how blankets were worn can be found in Gustafson (1980). Coast Salish weaving and their blankets are well researched. The uniqueness of the Coast Salish weaving techniques and tools makes their products easily distinguishable. Totemic figures and elaborate designs decorate much of their material culture, similar to that of other west coast tribes; yet their blankets are rather simple and unadorned. Design and colour are abandoned in favour of imaginative and decorative methods of manipulating yarns during the weaving process. Unique to the Coast Salish as well, are blankets which have four finished selvedges, thereby doing away with the need for fringes (Lakwete, 1976; Marr, 1979).

Blankets or robes were not only the main articles of dress, they were considered important as gifts and garments for wealthy and royal persons. Even the materials used in producing garments were held in high esteem. Dogs raised for their hair were kept only by the upper class and mountain goat wool formed a unit of trade amongst the Coast Salish. Suttles (1955) tells us that mountain goat wool was "measured by the double handful and traded for such items as canoes, paddles, (and) dried clams" (p.25). His Katzie informant, Simon Pierre, reported that missionaries stopped this practice because of its connections to

their ceremonies. Decorated whorls and spindles also demonstrate the importance of weaving in this culture (Marr, 1979).

Kissel (1929) is one of the earlier researchers of Coast Salish weaving. She discussed techniques employed by Coast Salish weavers at length. Kissel suggested that because Coast Salish weavers had their own type of loom, their weaving moved away from the pictorial style of other coast Natives to the zig-zag, serpentine, and plaid designs. Marr (1979) has carried out an exhaustive survey of Coast Salish weaving, from its aboriginal roots to the changes which occurred during the fur trade and missionary periods. She suggests nobility blankets were a product of the fur trade:

> The range of colours in organized blankets is a significant factor in distinguishing them from plain blankets. The availability of commercial yarns and fabrics that could be unravelled may have stimulated the use of a greater variety of colours, although before this time native-dyed yarns were put to limited use. An obvious source of coloured yarns in the nineteenth century was the Hudson's Bay Company trade blankets. The standard colours for these blankets were camel, scarlet, empire blue, grey, white, and green. (p.94)

From her analysis of primary sources, Marr found that the Indians at Fort Langley preferred red and white blankets. According to the Hudson's Bay Company account ledgers from Fort Langley examined by the researcher, only plain and green blankets were available to the Coast Salish until 1845 (unless more colours were available in Fort Vancouver and Indians travelled there). Plain blankets with red, blue, or black bands could have provided some coloured yarns. Stroud was available in white, blue, red, and green. Baize was available in red and green. Marr also found that:

> Fort Langley men [the fur traders] also learned that the Indians were very discriminating in their choice of trade

> items. For example, when a Kwantlen man came with six beaver skins and asked for shells, not receiving them he asked for a green blanket, then an 'embossed' blanket or one of scarlet. Since none of these articles could be given to him, he took his skins and departed. (Archibald McDonald, Fort Langley Journals, July 25, 1828, cited in Marr, 1979, p.135)

From archeological excavations, Burley (1980) found that the early Coast Salish placed an emphasis on adornment. Production of disc beads of shell or shale required much labour which points to their importance. These people also had pierced ears. Copper ornaments, obtained through trade, were fashioned into nose rings, beads, pendants and discs.

Primary Sources. Interaction between explorers, traders, and Natives on the Pacific coast of North America was limited to trading in the late eighteenth century. These explorers and traders provide descriptions of Natives living there. As Nootka was a relatively permanent post in the eighteenth century, much information exists on Nootkan tribes. We are less fortunate in the quantity of information regarding the Coast Salish.

George Vancouver (Lamb, 1984) provides the earliest first hand descriptions of the Coast Salish noted during his explorations of the straits of Juan de Fuca. Of the Coast Salish at Cape Flattery (in modern day Washington State) Vancouver writes:

> The few natives who came off resembled, in most respects the people of Nootka. Their persons, garments, and behaviour, are very similar; some difference was observed in their ornaments, particularly in those worn at the nose; for instead of the crescent, generally adopted by the inhabitants of Nootka, these wore straight pieces of bone. Their canoes, arms, and implements, were exactly the same. (Lamb, 1984, p.517)

An unidentified crew member of Vancouver's voyage also remarked on the similarities between the Nootkans and the Indians living in the straits of Juan de Fuca (Coast Salish and Kwakuitl) (Meany, 1915). Vancouver also states of the Coast Salish that "in their weapons, implements, canoes, and dress, they vary little [from the Nootka]. Their native woollen garments was most in fashion, next to it the skins of deer, bear, etc.; a few wore dresses manufactured from bark, which, like their woollen ones, were very neatly wrought" (Lamb, 1984, p.122). Vancouver also noted the presence of dogs kept for their hair by the Coast Salish. He likens their breed to the Pomeranian (Horway, 1918).

If Coast Salish dress in the late eighteenth century is very similar to that of Nootkan Indians, a description of Nootkan dress is worth considering. Alexander Walker, who spent one year living with the Nootkans wrote:

> Men, Women, and Children at Nootka, dress all in the same manner. They cover their Heads with conical Caps, made of the bark or twigs of Trees, and their Shoulders with a short Cloak. Their bodies are protected by a loose mantle, which being passed under one Arm, is knotted over the other shoulder, and reached down to the calf of the leg; The summer dress of both sexes is made of fir bark, but during this season, the Men often go perfectly naked. Their Winter dresses are made of the Skins of Bears, Sea Otters, Deer, and other Animals....When it rains, they cover themselves with course mats, which are of a close texture, and keep out the Water pretty well. [These may be called their great coats.][6]..We saw <some> mantles made of a stuff resembling course Blankets. In these were embroidered, after a very ingenious manner, with black hair, the figures of canoes, whales &c. Some of these robes [were] bordered round with a stripe of bright yellow, which is probably not the natural colour of any quadrupeds hair, and as I can hardly believe these People to be acquainted with the Art of Dying it is

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[6]These brackets were included by Fisher and Bumstead, (...) indicating material Walker inserted into the manuscript and <...> indicating material canceled in the original manuscript.

> possible, that they are a foreign Manufacture. Most of them indeed, that we saw, were on the people who came from the Southward[7]. The Cloth made of fine bark is often painted red, and fringed with Sea Otters Skin. It is made from the inner bark of the pine, which after being soaked in water, is beat with an Instrument of bone....The women weave it into Cloth in a very simple manner. After the bark has been beat, and dried, it resembles flax and is spun into threads with a Spindle. (Fisher & Bumstead, 1982, pp.76-77)

No such detailed description of Coast Salish dress at the time of contact was located. Coast Salish myths may povide insight into traditional aboriginal dress. From *the Shadow Men* published in Griffin (1934) one finds the following description of Coast Salish dress:

> When the Wizard had finished, each man was dressed as befitted his estate. A robe of sea-otter skins was hung from his shoulders; upon his head was placed a dancer's hat trimmed with seal's whiskers and in the crown of each hat a quantity of down from the backs of eagles. Leggings of woven wool and cedar bark reached down to his ankles and each legging was adorned with many rows of puffin's beaks which rattled when he moved. (p.89)

Simon Fraser, when descending the Fraser River in 1808 came into direct contact with the Coast Salish who would eventually settle around Fort Langley. Of them, Fraser noted:

> The Indians in this quarter are fairer than those in the interior. Their heads and faces are extremely flat; their skin and hair of a reddish cast - but this cast, I suppose, is owing to the ingredients with which they besmear their bodies. They make rugs, of Dog's hair, that have stripes of different colours crossing at right angles resembling at a distance Highland plaid. (Lamb, 1960, p.101)

Fraser is given "a present of a coat of mail to make shoes" (Lamb, 1960, p.103). It is unknown of what mail consisted. Already in 1808, Fraser

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[7]These people would have been living in close contact with the Coast Salish. According to Fisher and Bumstead (1982) in endnote 203, they were probably Clayoquot Sound Indians who live on the west coast of southern Vancouver Island.

notices the presence of European trade items among these Coast Salish. When describing a burial site he noted red and blue cloth.

The production of wool blankets did not immediately cease among the Coast Salish once they had access to English wool blankets. Dunn (1844) noted that "Native manufacture some of their blankets from wool of the wild goat; which is done with great neatness" (p.231). Berthold Seeman, who visited Coast Salish territory between 1845 and 1851 remarked:

> The costume of the men is a blanket loosely tied over the neck and shoulders; even the women have nothing in addition, save a sort of girdle round the middle, made of the fibre of cypress-tree, a substance which is also made into ropes and finishing lines. They keep dogs, the hair of which is manufactured into a kind of coverlet or blanket, which, in addition to the skin of bears, wolves, and deer, afford them abundance of clothing. (p.109)

Paul Kane (1925) also travelling in the mid 1840's, provided a detailed description of the production of blankets. He also commented on Coast Salish costumes:

> The women wear only an apron of twisted cedar-bark shreds, tied around the waist and hanging down in front only, almost to the knees. They however, use the blankets more than the men do, but certainly not from any feeling of delicacy. (pp.210-211)

From several accounts, blankets appear to be the main form of dress for the Coast Salish in the first half of the nineteenth century. Of the Clallum of Fort Victoria, Kane (1925) noted that "the men wear no clothing in summer, and nothing but a blanket in winter, made either of dog's hair alone, or dog's hair and goosedown mixed, frayed cedar-bark, or wildgoose skin, like the Chinooks" (pp.210-211). Seeman (1853) states that "their dress consisted of a blanket thrown loosely round the

body--so loosely indeed, that on many occasions it certainly did not answer the purpose intended" (p.96).

Mayne (1862) provided a good description of Coast Salish dress in the mid nineteenth century:

> For dress many now wear shirts and trowsers, purchased at the stations of the Hudson Bay Company; but the normal style is still a blanket brought round the body, and pinned with a wooden skewer on the shoulder, or held by the hand. On my first visit to this place, this was rather a picturesque costume, as they mostly wore native blankets made of dogs' hair and stained various colours; but now they use English blankets, and as they are always very dirty, the near effect is not pleasant, though they still look picturesque at a distance...as a rule they all go bare-footed and bare-headed, though..when travelling they wear moccasins. These are of no use, however, for keeping out wet; for, being made of plain deer-skin, they soon get quite soft and sloppy...Sometimes they wear caps or tie handkerchiefs round their heads, and in wet weather they frequently wear mushroom-shaped hats made of the bark of the thuja, cut in narrow strips, plaited much like Panama straw [hat], and painted with various devices. (p.282)

At Fort Victoria, Mayne observed "the beach, dotted thickly with women in red, green, or dirty-white blankets, presenting a somewhat picturesque appearance" (pp.253-254). While attending a Hudson's Bay Christmas ball at Fort Victoria, Henry Warre described the Indian women as "dressed a l'European" (Major-Fregeau, 1976, p.108). His sketch of his partner at this ball depicts her wearing a long, full skirt, leggings, moccasins, a full sleeved blouse, a kerchief draped around her shoulders and tucked in the front of an apron, and a string of beads around her neck (Major-Fregeau, 1976, p.108).

That the Coast Salish had become great consumers of Hudson's Bay blankets is evident in the quantities imported for trade. Seeman (1853) supports this by stating that "since the Hudson's Bay Company have established themselves in this neighbourhood, English blankets have been

so much in request, that the dog's hair manufacture has been rather at a discount, eight or ten blankets being given for one sea-otter skin" (p.109).

Coast Salish clothing articles held in the Royal British Columbia Museum, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology consist primarily of blankets, knitted sweaters, and adornment items. Some blankets dating to the first half of the nineteenth century are discussed in Gustafson (1980) and Johnson & Bernick (1986). One shirt, claimed to be part of a Spirit Dance costume in the UBCMA (artifact number A9360) is made of fabric and styled much like a European fitted shirt (inset sleeves, front closure, etc.). It is decorated with beads and small carved wooden paddles. The date of this shirt was unavailable. The Museum of the American Indian in New York City has some interesting examples of Coast Salish dance costumes but again, the date of these costumes was not provided (artifact numbers 198873a-f; 209831a-g; 188837a-e; 186893a-e; 198871a-e; and 198872a-e). These costume pieces consist primarily of wrist and leg bands, headresses, and belts. Materials used in these pieces include fur, goat hair, red fabric (cut in strips and woven), raffia, deer hooves, and feathers. It seems that Coast Salish artifacts collected by museums are those which appear more traditional, with limited use of European merchandise included.

Summary. From testimonies of dress from these nineteenth century sources, it appears that Coast Salish dress did not change to the European style upon the introduction of European manufactured dress

goods. The blanket, whether it is their traditionally woven goat or dog hair type or the easier obtained British woolen, remains their main form of dress at least until the middle of the nineteenth century. European garments were worn by both male and female though only men's ready-made garments were available through trade. Women must have been sewing their own clothes with cloth obtained from the Company. It is difficult to determine from the sources consulted how prevalent clothing such as vests and trousers were to the Coast Salish. The limited numbers of trousers and vest imported to Fort Langley suggest they are not commonly worn by the Natives. Shirts, however, are imported in quantities which increased from 1830 to 1850 suggesting they were being worn by the Coast Salish.

It is unfortunate that there was no mention of the use of tinklers on Coast Salish garment. Puffin beaks used as tinklers were mentioned in the legend *The Shadow Men* (Griffin, 1934). Perhaps fur traders were not privy to Potlatch and other ceremonies held by the Coast Salish where special garments perhaps decorated with tinklers would be worn. Examination of published exhibit catalogues which include Coast Salish artifacts have not revealed any information on the use of thimbles, buttons, and bells on their artifacts (Coe, 1976; Holm, 1987; Holm & Vaughn, 1982; Johnson & Bernick, 1986; Wardell, 1978).

Reaction to European dress goods. Written descriptions of Coast Salish dress tell us that Coast Salish did not adopt European dress style even though they had access to European garments and dress goods. The primary garment of the Coast Salish at the time of contact was the

blanket and this remained true to 1850, with English-made woollen blankets replacing cedar or mountain goat wool ones. Production of dog hair and mountain goat wool blankets continued and became important ceremonial clothing. With access to coloured yarns (unravelled from blankets and cloth), Coast Salish women began weaving coloured blankets in complex designs (illustrations of such blankets can be seen in Gustafson, 1980 and Johnson & Bernick, 1986). Much of the Coast Salish material culture collected by museums are their blankets and related items. The consumption of large quantities of ornamental items such as buttons, thimbles, bells, and beads also relates to their precontact society. Traditional decorative items were made of dentilium, shells, puffin beaks, copper, and stones. Tinklers and beads from the Hudson's Bay Company were more abundant and easier to obtain so gained popularity among the Coast Salish.

Coast Salish traditional dress affected their adoption of European dress styles and dress goods. Blankets were important in precontact Coast Salish society not only as clothing but also as acceptable gifts in a Potlatch. Production of dog hair and mountain goat wool blankets were tied to their social structure and ceremonial life. Only the nobility could own the dogs whose hair was used for weaving. Mountain goat wool was difficult to obtain and costly. Blankets for common use were made of cedar bark and blankets purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company replaced these cedar bark blankets. Hudson's Bay blankets, because they came in a variety of colours and sizes, were easy to sort and count so became good Potlatch gifts. Hudson's Bay blankets could not replace dog hair or mountain goat wool blankets, however, because of

the link between these blankets and Coast Salish social and ceremonial traditions.

CONCLUSIONS

This research determined the effects of European clothing and dress goods on Carrier and Coast Salish traditional dress during the fur trade period, 1830 to 1850. Historians have often concluded that Native lifestyles changed as a result of their meeting with Europeans and with their acquisition of European merchandise. Few historians have researched the level of change or the steps involved in the acculturative process. Barnett (1942, 1953) theorizes that the meeting of two cultures often results in a stimulus in innovation or change in the receiving society. He points out that adoption of items from a donating society (here, the Hudson's Bay Company) does not necessarily result in acculturation. Objects have a meaning-function which is determined by society so while a culture may accept items from the donating society, the cultured does not always adopt its meaning-function. This is evident in the Coast Salish use of blankets, which were used by Europeans for bedding while the Coast Salish used them for garments.

Linton (1963) defines acculturation as "the modification in the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of individuals" (p.468). The process of acculturation is:

1. its initial acceptance by innovators
2. its dissemination to other members of society
3. the modification by which it is finally adjusted to the pre-existing culture matrix (p.470)

Kaiser (1985) suggests that variables which affect the process of acculturation are observability, relative advantage, comparability, and

complexity. Pannabecker (1980, 1990) and Anawalt (1976) have used clothing to examine acculturation and culture change among aboriginal cultures influenced by their access to European goods.

By examining Coast Salish clothing, it appears that access to European goods was a stimulus to their traditional dress style. They did not appear to move away from their own style of dress. The Coast Salish adopted clothing items most similar to their aboriginal dress and materials similar to their precontact goods. These materials were not always similar in their physical make-up; they were sometimes similar in form or function which allowed the Coast Salish to make use of them. This is apparent in their use of blankets. The Coast Salish wanted European manufactured merchandise. They were not traditionally a trapping culture, relying more on salmon for food and wool and cedar for cloth fibers. They trapped in order to obtain the European goods and these goods were incorporated into their society. The goods alone did not bring about any overt changes in Coast Salish dress style. However, the desire for these goods and the new function they had within Coast Salish society, brought about an important change to Coast Salish, namely their shift to trapping[8].

There are several reasons why the Coast Salish limited their adoption of European garments and dress goods. The most evident is the importance of the blanket in Coast Salish culture. Blankets were the main form of dress. Blanket production was closely tied to their

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[8]Fort Langley had a policy that all non-perishable goods had to be purchased with furs while trade materials such as salmon, berries, and labour could be used to purchase perishable goods. Thus the Coast Salish had to turn to trapping in order to obtain garments, dress goods, and metal wares (Morton, 1988a).

aesthetics, social structure, and ceremony. With access to Hudson's Bay blankets, blankets became closely associated with the Potlatch. Now quantity, rather than quality, was the feature of the Potlatch give-away. Even the term "blanket throw" implies a casual distribution of these blankets, probably due to the numbers involved.

Aesthetics were also important. The Coast Salish ideal of fashionability or appropriate forms of dress was different from European or Euro-Canadian styles of dress. Coast Salish dress was too removed from European dress in fit and silhouette to allow for a quick transition from one style to another. Dress theorists claim that moral and social pressures affect dress change; because Coast Salish dress was closely tied to their social structure, changes in dress would be associated with social changes.

The third factor affecting the Coast Salish adoption of European dress was technology. The Hudson's Bay Company provided fabric, thread, needles and garments which could be used in clothing productions (garments as prototypes). Traditional Coast Salish dress is draped rather than cut and constructed. Knowledge for making fitted garments would have to be acquired. This acquisition of knowledge would be slowed if the culture had little desire to produce garments. This appears to be the case among the Coast Salish.

The Carrier's reaction to European dress was practically the opposite to that of the Coast Salish. The Coast Salish made use of European dress goods while maintaining the silhouette and style of their traditional aboriginal dress. Carriers tended to adopt European dress goods and the basic style of European dress. Carrier adoption of

European dress is tied to the technical advantage, comparability, complexity, and aesthetics.

The technical advantage of European dress is that it was easier to obtain or to make than their traditional dress. Carriers traditionally pieced together garments made of animal hides. They had to trap and skin the animals, tan the hides, then cut out pieces which were then sewn together using an awl and sinew. European fabric or garments could be obtained at the fur trade post for the raw furs. Fabric is easy to cut and needles and thread allowed for easier sewing. Also wool, the main fabric imported to Fort St.James, is well suited to the climate.

Traditional Carrier dress was fitted to the body, similar to European garments. Thus a change in material did not necessarily translate to changes in dress style for the Carrier. They did not simply abandon their traditional dress once a post was established in their territory. Morice (1894) witnessed the production of ceremonial dress used by the Carrier which existed in the 1890's. The Hudson's Bay Company imported moose hides to Fort St. James, demonstrating a demand among the Carrier for materials used in their traditional dress, such as moccasins and jerkins.

The complexity of European dress would not have been a hinderance to the Carrier. European men's clothing was changing to a more simplified silhouette in the early nineteenth century (Roy, 1991). European men's clothing was not very different from Carrier dress and the Carrier had access to ready-made men's clothing which would could serve as prototypes. European's women's dress was quite complicated during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Hudson's Bay

Company did not import women's ready-made clothing which Carrier women could copy. Carrier women would have made simple skirts, blouses and aprons. Shawls were imported by the company. Women probably wore capots and blankets as well.

Finally, Carrier aesthetics influences their acceptance of European dress. The soft drape and bright colours of European woolens and blankets contrasted sharply with animal hides. The account books show that more colourful merchandise was available to the Carrier than to the Coast Salish (i.e. green and yellow striped blankets, blue, white, grey and olive capots, and three types of garters).

This research demonstrates that two Native cultures in British Columbia reacted differently to the presence of European merchandise and that European dress goods were incorporated differently in their traditional dress styles. It also demonstrated the amount of affect the fur trade had on the Carrier and Coast Salish. British Columbia has many different Native groups and it would be difficult to research them all to determine cultural changes over the last two hundred years. Such research, however, would enrich the knowledge of British Columbia's history. While historians do not want to stereotype Indians in their discussions of British Columbia history, this will occur until more information is available on individual Native groups.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

1. A continuation of this study would be beneficial. After 1850, the Coast Salish are influenced by settlers and missionaries. It would be interesting to follow changes in their dress after 1850 to determine how the settler and missionary presence may have affected their dress. Settlers do not arrive in the Fort St. James area until the beginning of the twentieth century so it the effects of missionaries on their dress could be studied up to the end of the nineteenth century.

2. The Hudson's Bay Company archives is a good source of information on dress goods available to Native trappers. Studies such as this one could be carried out on a variety of posts in British Columbia and Canada. There is a general lack of information on all aspects of Native dress after the time of contact. It would be worthy to study different Native groups throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century, especially isolated posts where the Hudson's Bay Company was the only merchant.

3. More research is needed on the material culture of the fur trade. The merchandise imported by the Hudson's Bay Company and distributed throughout many Native groups is worthy of study. The Hudson's Bay Company archives are a source of names of cloth, garments, and trade names which could be researched. This would provide excellent information on clothing of the common class which is currently missing in costume history.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Comparison of supplies inventoried at Fort St. James (BCPA A/B/20/St9) and supplies inventoried in New Caledonia, Spring, 1836 (HBCA B223/d/80).

ITEM	FSJ	NC
baize - red		14 3/4
beads - barley common	2(lbs)	
common white	2	5 1/4
common green	1	
sky blue	1	4
belts - broad scarlet	10	14
middling scarlet	11	13
narrow scarlet	2	4
narrow coloured	2	4
blankets -green	11	9
plain 3pt	41	63
plain 2½ pt	46	68
plain 2 pt	14	14
plain 1½ pt	4	15
plain 1 pt	14	12
bells - hawk	1½ (doz)	1½
caps - grey milled	2	9
capots - 1 ell	9	14
1½ ells	3	13
2 ells	6	10
2½ ells	3	13
3 ells	14	35
3½ ells	22	32
4 ells	23	23
4½ ells	15	18
cotton - common stripe		12 (yds)
garters - Highland		½ (gross)
Scarlet		3 3/4
handkerchiefs - black silk	10	10
cotton	4	4
hats - common wool		6
hat covers - silk	2	2

needles - B.T.		3 (count) 4	
	darning	1	1/4
shirts -	print cotton	13	12
	striped cotton	18	
	fine cotton	5	5
	white flannel	10	
strouds -	HB blue	76(yds)	82
	HB red	61(yds)	
	HB white		35½
	HB green		16½
	common blue	25	66
	common red	21	19
	common green		27½
trousers -	common cloth	3	3
	corduroy		5
thread - B.T.		16 (lbs)	20
vests -	cassimere	8	6
	swansdown	4	5
	quilting		2

APPENDIX II

Excerpt from *Accounts and Private Orders of People Attached to Hudson's Bay Company Posts, 1838 - 1848*, (BCPA A/B/20/St9.1) demonstrating the debit-credit system.
Units are in Made Beaver.

Ashuil Prince Brother (Carrier trapper)

1848		Debit	Credit
June 12	By balance from page 121		5
	fish at Sunday times / say 120 fish		2
June 11	fish at Sunday times / say 120 fish		2
25	To 1 Large* Moose Dressed skin	7	
	1 fine cotton Shirt	4	
July 10	By 60 Carp		1
Augt 19	" provisions		1
	To one a Shirt	1	
Sept 19	200 fish Salmon		
23	147 " ditto		4
Oct 11	By 1 Large Beaver and Meat		2
15	" 830 Dried Salmon		10
17	To 1 Green Blanket 3 Pt	12	
	" 1 fine Cotton Shirt	4	
	" 1 Common Cotton Handkerchiefs	2	
27	By Beaver Meat		1 1/2
Nov 8	" 6 Lar Beaver, 6 Marten		10 2/10
	" 1 Small ditto, 13 Martens		4 8/10
	1 Fisher, Meat 1,		1 5/10
	To 1 Trading Gun 3½ ft	22	
	1 Moose Skin	7	
11	1 Lynx & Meat		2 3/10
	Ducks, say 3		7/10
	To 1 Scotch Bonnet	3	
23	By 3 Martens, 1 Fisher		1 5/10
Dec 22	" 5 Large Beaver		5
	2 Small Ditto		1
	1 Lynx, 1 Marten		1 3/10
	3 lbs Castoreum		3/10

*abbreviations found in the original text have been written out in full here

Prince (Carrier trapper)

1848		Debit	Credit
Aug 4	To Balance from Page 8	5 5/10	
	By 1 Meat Beaver		1
	" 4 Small Sturgeon		4
Sept 1	To ½ Yd HB Strouds, 1 Trap Spring	4	
5	By 3 Large Beaver, 2 prs Castoreum		3 2/10
18	" 162 fish Salmon		
22	To 1 Small Length Hand Ax	2	
23	By 50 fish Salmon		2
Oct 3	By 1 provisions		1
10	" 1 Large Grizzly Bear		2
	" 1 Large Beaver, 1 Small Beaver	1 1/2	
9	" 2 Geese, 3 Ducks		1 7/10
17	To 1 flannel Shirt	4	
	" 3 Yds Red Baize	6	
	" 1 Pair Leggins[sic]	3	
	By 890 Dried thick Salmon		
	" 19 thin ditto		12
18	" 1 Goose, 7 Ducks		2 2/10
27	" 10 Geese, Beaver Meat		6
Nov 1	To 1 Blanket 1½ Pts	4	
11	By 4 Large Beavers, 1 Mid Ditto		4 7/10
	" 1 Lynx, 5 Martens		2 7/10
	" 4 Pair Castoreums		4/10
	To 1 Moose Skin	7	
	" 1 Blanket 3 Pts	10	
	" 3 Cock Feathers	6	
27	" 1 Cott Shirt	4	
	" Cloth say Strouds	3 5/10	
	" 1 Pr Leggins[sic]		

APPENDIX III

Primary sources consulted for information on Carrier and Coast Salish Dress. Those with * denote information on dress was not found.

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Rossetti, B. Elder from Nak'azdli Band, Fort St. James, B.C.

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Hudson's Bay Company Archives: Account Ledgers

HBCA B223/d/25
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HBCA B223/d/80
HBCA B223/d/93
HBCA B223/d/105b
HBCA B223/d/115
HBCA B223/d/126
HBCA B223/d/136
HBCA B223/d/137
HBCA B223/d/144
HBCA B223/d/148
HBCA B223/d/155
HBCA B223/d/160
HBCA B223/d/165
HBCA B223/d/174
HBCA B223/d/181
HBCA B223/d/185
HBCA B223/d/193

APPENDIX IV

Coding Sheet for Post Inventories

site	1 fort langley 2 fort st. james	_____
category	01 clothing 02 yardgoods 03 miscellaneous goods 04 adornment 05 sewing notions 06 grooming items	_____
item	01 shirt 02 trousers 03 shoes 04 jackets 05 coats 06 vests 07 garters 08 hats 09 caps 10 capots 11 shawls 12 men's hose 13 tinsel hatcords 14 hat covers 15 handkerchiefs 16 belts 17 waistcoats 18 blankets 19 beads 20 ribbon 21 coloured cock feathers 22 vermillion 23 buttons 24 needles 25 thimbles 26 thread 27 finger rings 28 combs 29 looking glasses 30 hawk bells 31 fabric 32 yarn	_____
colour	01 red 02 scarlet 03 ruby 04 crimson 05 grey	_____

06 blue
07 sky blue
08 dark blue
09 capis blue
10 light china blue
11 topas
12 aquamarine
13 green
14 white
15 plain
16 drab
17 olive
18 buff
19 black
88 unavailable
99 not applicable

description

01 barley corn
02 common coloured
03 mock garnet
04 sea
05 worsted
06 coloured
07 common
08 with blue bars
09 with red bars
10 best
11 inferior
12 damaged or imperfect
13 striped
14 with hood
15 with cape
16 fine
17 yacht or rowing
18 fancy
19 check
20 morocco
21 canadian pumps
22 monkey fearnot
23 fustian
24 valencia
25 toilinet
26 highland
27 wood
28 scotch bonnet
29 boy's
30 men's
31 lady's
32 children's
33 youth's
34 romal

35 metal coat
36 metal jacket
37 gilt ball vest
38 plated ball vest
39 darning
40 common thread
41 glove
42 b t (brown thread)
43 queens
44 white chapel
45 w b (white brothers)
46 stitching
47 paper case
48 metal frame
49 wood frame
50 red and black frame
51 indian printed or figured
52 regatta 9/8
53 embossed
54 summer canton
55 canton
56 printed
57 cramber
58 dandruff
59 turkey
60 milled
99 not applicable

material 01 cotton shirting _____
02 common cotton
03 fine cotton
04 cotton flannel
05 cotton shrouds
06 duffle cotton
07 bunting
08 oil cloth
09 osnaburgs
10 stout osnaburgs
11 common strouds
12 H B strouds
13 duffle
14 baize
15 H B corded strouds
16 serge
17 common cloth
18 corduroy
19 silk
20 linen
21 brass
22 stoned brass
23 moleskin
24 marcella quilting

25 quilting
26 beaver felt
27 linen swansdown
28 kersey printed
29 nanteen
30 glass
31 wool
32 metal
33 cotton
34 horn
35 swansdown
36 ivory
37 indian cloth
38 enamel
39 duck sheeting
40 worsted
41 printed calico
88 unavailable
99 not applicable

size

01 large
02 small
03 mid
04 narrow
05 broad
06 1 point
07 1.5 points
08 2 points
09 2.5 points
10 3 points
11 3.5 points
12 4 points
13 1 ell
14 1.5 ells
15 2 ells
16 2.5 ells
17 3 ells
18 3.5 ells
19 4 ells
20 4.5 ells
21 4 dy
22 6 dy
23 9 dy
24 26 inch
25 36 inch
26 6 inch
27 9.5 ps
28 1.75 ps
29 0.875 ps
30 0.625 ps
31 1.875 ps
32 5 ps

33 1.67 ps
34 1 ps
88 unavailable
99 not applicable

unit 1 pounds _____
2 yards
3 feet
4 ps
5 count
6 bunch
9 not applicable

APPENDIX V

Partial glossary of terms

Terms included here are those which may not be familiar to the modern reader.

baize, baise, bays - A woolen textile resembling a thin serge (Cunnington, et al, 1960, p.242).

broadcloth - A fine woollen cloth of plain weave. [19C] A cloth made of fine merino yarns in plain twill weave, heavily milled with dress face finish (Cunnington, et al, 1960, p.245).

bunting - either cotton or wool fabric. When of wool it is "woven with worsted yarns of strong wiry wool...[producing] a soft, lightweight, durable fabric" (Wingate, 1979, p.89). When made of cotton it is plain woven fabric.

common cloth - a heavy wool fabric (Ross, 1976).

duck - a coarse white linen made from double warp and weft; much used in trousers in hot weather (Cunnington, et al, 1960, p.254).

duffle, duffel - A stout milled flannel, often friezed. [also, a] cloth with a thick shaggy nap, used for overcoats (Cunnington, et al, 1960, p.254).

embossed - (from embossing) a raised design or effect produced on fabric using a calendaring process (Wingate, 1979, p.216).

fearnought, fearnothing, dreadnought - [18C] a stout cloth almost impenetrable to wind and rain. A thick cloth with a long pile (Cunnington et al, 1960, p.255).

flannel - "a light or medium weight woolen fabric of plain or twill weave with a slightly napped surface" (Wingate, 1979, p.240).

fustian - a course twilled textile with linen warp and cotton weft. The surface resembling velvet; hence the term 'mock velvet' (Cunnington, et al, 1960, p.256).

garter - a tie or band to keep the stocking in place on the leg, and placed above or below the knee...garters might be of wool, worsted, crewel, list, or ribbon, taffeta, cypress and net (Cunnington, et al, 1960, pp.92-93).

kersey - a coarse woollen cloth but many varieties in quality and pattern (Cunnington, et al 1960, p.260).

marcella - A cotton quilting or coarse piqué with a diaper pattern in relief. Used for waistcoats (Cunnington, et al, 1960, p.263).

milled - "synonym for a woven cloth that has been fulled or felted" (Wingate, 1979, p.388).

moleskin - a coarse fustian, strong and twilled. Used for trousers by working men (Cunnington, et al, 1960, p.264). A heavy cotton fabric with a twilled surface on one side and short velvet nap on the other (Ross, citing Gove, p.576).

oilcloth - a fabric, usually a heavy cotton drill, which has been coated on one side to produce a waterproof material. It is most commonly used for table or shelf covering (Wingate, 1979, p.423).

osnaburgs - "a course, strong, plain weave cotton fabric...The original cloths often were yarn dyed in blue and white and brown and white stripes, checks and solid colors, and were used .. for work clothing" (Wingate, 1979, p.428). Course or stout osnaburg is a heavy weight, more industrial strength form of this fabric.

regatta shirt - c.1840 A striped shirt of cambric or 'Oxford shirting' for informal outdoor wear in the summer. The front without pleats or frills (Cunnington, et al, 1960, pp.179-80).

scotch bonnet - a cap with a short brim and large, floppy crown similar to the scotch caps worn today.

stroud - (strouding, strouds) "a course blanketing formally used in trading with North American Indians" (Wingate, 1979, p.589).

swansdown - a heavy, napped cotton fabric, used in Great Britain for workmen's clothing (Wingate, 1979, p.594).

toilinet, toilinette - a fine woollen cloth, plain, striped or checked; somewhat like merino. [19C] the warp of cotton and silk, the weft of woollen. Much used for waistcoats in the first half of the nineteenth century (Cunnington, et al, 1960, p.277).

valencia - a textile the warp of cotton, the weft of worsted; much used for waistcoats (Cunnington, et al, 1960, p.278).

vest - In the 19C synonymous with waistcoat (Cunnington, et al, 1960, p.229).

waistcoat - in the nineteenth century, a single or double breasted sleeveless garment which reached to the waist.

worsted - yarns made of fibers which have been spun using the worsted system. Also woolen fabrics which are made of tightly woven yarns producing a crisp fabric such as serge and gabardine (Wingate, 1979, p.678).

APPENDIX VI

Types and Quantities of Garments and Dress Goods Inventoried In New Caledonia and Fort Langley from 1830 to 1850.

Blankets inventoried at Fort Langley, 1830-1850, sorted by colour.

YEAR	scarlet	blue	green	white	plain	unavail.	total
1830			2		134	3	139
1832			112		201	42	1355
1833			108	823	39		970
1834			104	46	394		544
1835			91		485		576
1836			69		575	18	662
1837			28		459		487
1838			10		390		400
1839			52		674		726
1840			80		43		123
1841			119		876		995
1842			106		625		731
1843			84		370		454
1844			78		287		365
1845	70		76		595		741
1846	118	89	124		786		1117
1847	95	37	43		404		579
1848	70	29	28		230		357
1849	63	25	62		325		475
1850	55		12	240	2		309

Blankets inventoried in New Caledonia, 1830-1850, sorted by colour

YEAR	scarlet	green	plain	green/yellow striped	blue	total
1830			135			135
1832		4	245			249
1833		4	191			195
1834		2	123			125
1835		8	152			160
1836		9	181			190
1837		5	139			144
1838		7	176	9		192
1839		19	117	17		143
1840		41	161	41		243
1841		36	182	37		255
1842		15	183	62		260
1843		12	101	30		143
1844		17	135	10		162
1845	7	12	134	5	4	162
1846	33	25	210	1	7	276
1847	19	1	234		3	257
1848	6		330		4	340
1849	5	13	265	1	4	288
1850	3		272	2	2	282

Yardgoods inventoried at Fort Langley, 1830-1850.

YEAR	baize	common stroud	HB stroud	HB corded stroud	duffle	flannel	common cloth
1830	16[9]	42			7		
1832	456	490	17		378		
1833	437	6	115	17	6 8/11piece		
1834	260	249	121		5		
1835	65	198	46	14	1		
1836		209	23	14			
1837	660	165	6	6	7 5/6		
1838	727	165	6	6	7 1/2		
1839	454	396	6		1		
1840	391	337			3		
1841	772	308			32/43		
1842	737	92			5 2/3		
1843	922	191			3		
1844	686	193					
1845	149	198					
1846	806	264					
1847	207	242					
1848	619	198					380
1849	1081	127			2	90	
1850	286	55			28/42	25	

YEAR	fine cotton	common cotton	osnaburg	cotton duffle	duck sheeting	cotton shirting
1830						
1832		77	70			
1833		210	54			
1834		48	44			
1835		63	44			
1836		28	18			
1837						
1838			140			
1839			64			
1840						
1841		347	80			
1842		80				
1843		27				
1844		26		28		
1845						
1846	18	66	150			
1847	42	84				
1848	84	164				
1849	22	212			38	57
1850	18	51	80		14	

[9]Quantities are given in yards and rounded off to the nearest whole number.

Quantities of yardgoods inventoried in New Caledonia, 1830-1850.

YEAR	baize	common stroud	HB stroud	duffle	second cloth	common cloth	misc.
1830		290	77				16
1832	10	413	84				
1833	12	279	180				
1834	28	72	72				
1835	32	44	30				
1836	15	113	153				
1837	7	125	105	3			
1838	2	165	149				
1839	6	134	121				
1840	32	167	141				
1841		248	165		13	10	
1842		174	319				
1843		88	284		1		
1844	34				4		
1845	34	96	381		12		
1846	58	37	519		14		
1847	33	120	178		14		
1848	148	88	203		9		
1849	65	184	248				
1850	70	258	311				

YEAR	fine cotton	common cotton	cotton shirting	misc.	osnaburg
1830			4		
1832					
1833					
1834					
1835					
1836		12			
1837					
1838	12		4		
1839		19			
1840		6		2	
1841		11		12	75
1842		6			
1843		31			
1844		51			
1845		139			
1846		28		28	
1847		42		5	
1848	9	41		10	
1849		36		18	
1850		62		18	

Garments inventoried at Fort Langley, 1830-1850.

YEAR	shirt	trousers	shoes	jacket	coat	vest	garters
1830	2						
1832	62	15	6			10	180
1833	131	23	5	3	6	17	324
1834	55	18		2	5	5	324
1835	15	3		1	4	4	288
1836	14				3	2	288
1837	55	5					72
1838	62	5		2			
1839	48			3			
1840	5	14		3			
1841	157	2					
1842	50	4				4	
1843	177	7	1			4	
1844	250	8					
1845	381						
1846	247	4	5				
1847	17	4	4				
1848	306		4				48
1849	373	15					
1850		18					

YEAR	hats	capots	caps	hose	belts
1830					
1832	2	20	4		6
1833	11	89			6
1834	6	45	1		4
1835	1	20			4
1836		6			4
1837		11	1		3
1838	5	23	17		3
1839		19	11		
1840	4	11	20		
1841	4	24	3		
1842	4	30	18		
1843		20	18		
1844		9	42		
1845	6	9	42		
1846	12	6	36		
1847	15	4	30		
1848	9		18	2	28
1849	24	4	15		34
1850		6		5	

Garments inventoried in New Caledonia, 1830-1850.

YEAR	shirt	trousers	shoes	capots	vest	garters
1831						
1830	22			120		5
1832	43			192	1	144
1833	18			128	2	155
1834	19			99	5	4(rolls)
1835	30	5		120	2	756
1836	17	8		159	13	512
1837	21	3		128	9	5 5/6(rolls)
1838	29	10	2	149	9	156
1839	51	7		149	9	864
1840	39	14		242	12	207
1841	33	19		291	34	432
1842	48	19		284	31	18
1843	20	11		272	37	252
1844	83	16		192	17	90
1845	30	11		272	10	288
1846	87	4		268	12	324
1847	132	14		211	19	144
1848	133	25		231	20	333
1849	92	21		260	31	162
1850	46	1		252	20	396

YEAR	hats	shawls	belts	hose	caps
1830	4		3		11
1832	6		7		
1833	4		5		
1834	3		7		12
1835	5		25		7
1836	6		29		9
1837	3		19		3
1838	4		26	2	4
1839	9	1	73	2	21
1840	7		72	3	14
1841	15	2	90		15
1842	8		82		23
1843	3	3	41	3	38
1844		2	52	1	96
1845		20	101		78
1846			101	1	32
1847			51		37
1848			48	6	69
1849			70		66
1850			104		62

Sewing notions inventoried at Fort Langley, 1830-1850.

YEAR	needles	thread[10]	buttons	yarn	thimbles
1830	7400	4			
1832	500	2	1800	3(lbs)	756
1833	140	5	1968	3	684
1834		8	1080	3	612
1835		4		3	48
1836	450	2		2	60
1837	200	2	540	2	864
1838	400	2	1584	2	1440
1839	400	3	576		1152
1840	350		2880		2208
1841	300		4416		2880
1842	750	3	1356		1152
1843	400		3024		1584
1844			876		
1845	300	2	1140		
1846	450	3	996		
1847		3	864		
1848	800	3	132		
1849	2000	4	1980		468
1850	1600	3	288		

Sewing notions inventoried in New Caledonia, 1830-1850.

YEAR	needles	thread	buttons	thimbles	scissors
1830	295	23	252	11	53
1832	430	33	360	18	38
1833	288	41	204		4
1834	360	44	60	372	20
1835	20	41			
1836	425	21			
1837	287	16		144	
1838	650	39			24
1839	1330	2	36	1392	
1840	576	37		360	
1841	495	33		648	
1842		20	72	360	2
1843	556				
1844	476	28	138		
1845	450	36	144	408	7
1846	1100	40		2280	99
1847	730	37		72	17
1848	464	16	21	272	26
1849	904	16		540	18
1850	792	17		855	15

[10]Thread is measured in pounds and rounded off to the nearest whole number.

Items related to adornment inventoried at Fort Langley, 1830-1850.

YEAR	beads	beads[11]	rings	bells	feathers
1830	226				
1832	252		4416		6
1833	228		9048		18
1834	208		7406		18
1835	156		5904		12
1836	100		4536		8
1837	106		1440		8
1838	4		2160		
1839	19		1920		
1840	9		792	468	
1841	22		288	216	
1842	9.5	47		144	
1843	7	15.5	792		
1844			288		
1845	12		288		
1846		4	576		
1847		55	408		
1848	2	51	39744		
1849	16	96	2160		
1850					

Items related to adornment inventoried in New Caledonia, 1830-1850.

YEAR	beads	beads	rings	bells	feathers
1830	7.75		696	36	3
1832			1356		1
1833				1152	7
1834			372		10
1835	5.25		48	144	30
1836	13.25		816	18	32
1837	6		576		44
1838	9.5		1080		44
1839	6.5	6	828	6	75
1840	4.75		1043		70
1841	4.5		372		105
1842	2.5		120		82
1843	0.5		540		42
1844	10		684		17
1845	10.5		660		54
1846	22.75		174		
1847	21.5		218		35
1848	21.5	6	234		35
1849	26.5	5	1188		65
1850	9.5	2	740		103

[11]Beads were recorded in pounds until 1841 when bunches appeared. The number of bunches which make up a pound is not known to the researcher so they are tallied separately.

Miscellaneous items inventoried at Fort Langley,1830-1850.

YEAR	vermillion	combs	looking glasses	handkerchiefs
1830	4 lbs	18	9	
1832		60	174	3
1833	5	108	36	42
1834		102	80	35
1835		92	12	37
1836		72	27	31
1837	9	24	174	18
1838	12	78	168	
1839	6	58	174	
1840	6	27	434	
1841	10	3	189	
1842	7	50	90	
1843	15	28	224	18
1844	9	29	216	196
1845	3	4	300	
1846		3	306	10
1847	4		96	
1848	2	84	192	84
1849	10	149	244	126
1850	4	20		

Miscellaneous items inventoried in New Caledonia, 1830-1850.

YEAR	vermillion	combs	looking glasses	handkerchiefs
1830	4.5 lbs	16	20	
1832	1	60	29	11
1833	1	40	1	20
1834	0.5	22	26	6
1835	0.5	19	24	2
1836	0.25	41	21	14
1837	0.4	45	15	9
1838	0.75	48	27	19
1839	1	72	3	23
1840	1.4	96	59	19
1841	1.5	35	37	37
1842	2.3	98	20	51
1843	1	71	23	69
1844	3.25	38	11	56
1845	0.5	67	49	56
1846	2.67	83	47	57
1847	3.67	67	58	79
1848	7.5	81	63	75
1849	5.44	109	62	63
1850	8.25	139	55	76